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# THE SEMINARY MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES (1784–1833)

Lloyd Paul McDonald

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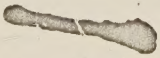
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

# THE SEMINARY MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES; PROJECTS, FOUNDATIONS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT (1784-1833)

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY



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# INTRODUCTION

The Seminary system in the United States today is, in keeping with the growth of the Church, extensive and well developed. Thousands of ecclesiastical students are being prepared for the priesthood by complete staffs of professors and spiritual directors, in substantial modern buildings, erected by the generosity of an ever-increasing Catholic laity. The present system was made possible by the labors of the Bishops, priests and laity who have preceded us in advancing the work of the kingdom of Christ. Seminaries had their beginning in the United States when Bishop Carroll founded his first Seminary in 1791. Since then the growth of the movement has been gradual, although at times exceedingly slow. To note the efforts of our first Bishops to establish Seminaries, to follow them in the realization of their plans, and to watch the early development of the actual foundations, is the purpose of this work.

The period treated covers the years between Father John Carroll's appointment as Prefect Apostolic in 1784 and the close of the Second Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1833. This Council saw the failure of the movement for a Central Seminary, and its legislation on Seminaries gave new life to the movement for Diocesan Seminaries. It was the beginning of a new period in Seminary history in the United States.

The writer has used as far as possible documentary sources and recognized authorities. He acknowledges no small indebtedness to the collection of documents and notes in the possession of the Very Reverend Francis P. Havey, S. S., D. D., the use of which was generously granted. He has made frequent use of John Gilmary Shea's "History of the Catholic Church in the United States" and of the various Catholic historical reviews, and has relied much upon the diocesan and institutional histories which deal with this period of our history. He is deeply grateful to all of his professors, and particularly to the Very Reverend Dr. Patrick J. McCormick, under whose direction the subject was selected and the work completed.

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## CHAPTER I.

### Carroll's Early Years.

On June 9, 1784, Father John Carroll was appointed Superior of the Mission in the thirteen United States of North America. Official word of the appointment reached him on November 26, 1784. Upon him now fell in great part the burden, hitherto shared by the ex-Jesuits as a body, of providing the new Republic with priests. From the date of suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773, the problem of finding priests to take up the work of the missions in the Colonies grew steadily more grave. This problem, by the act of the Holy See, in a special way became Carroll's as the Superior of the missions. It was to become entirely his, five years later, when in 1789 he was chosen Bishop of Baltimore.

Something of the magnitude of Carroll's burden may be seen in the third part of his "Relation of the State of Religion in the United States," which was written to Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect of Propaganda, in March, 1785. He writes: "How many priests are there here, their qualifications, character and means of support? There are nineteen priests in Maryland and five in Pennsylvania. Of these two are more than seventy years old, and three others very near that age; and they are consequently almost entirely unfit to undergo the hardships, without which this vineyard of the Lord cannot be cultivated. Of the remaining priests some are in very bad health, and there is one recently approved by me for a few months only, that in the extreme want of priests I may give him a trial: for some things were reported of him, which made me averse to employing him. I will watch him carefully, and if anything occurs unworthy priestly gravity I will recall the faculties granted, whatever inconvenience this may bring to many Catholics; for I am convinced that the Catholic faith will suffer less harm if for a short time there is no priest at a place, than if living as we do among fellow-

citizens of another religion we admit to the discharge of the sacred ministry, I do not say bad priests, but incautious and imprudent priests. All the other clergymen lead a life full of labor, as each one attends congregations far apart, and has to be riding constantly and with great fatigue, especially to sick calls.

"Priests are maintained chiefly from the proceeds of the estates; elsewhere by the liberality of Catholics. There is properly no ecclesiastical property here; for the property by which the priests are supported is held in the names of individuals and transferred by will to devisees. This course was rendered necessary when the Catholic religion was cramped here by laws, and no remedy has been found for this difficulty, although we made an earnest effort last year.

"There is a college in Philadelphia, and it is proposed to establish two in Maryland, in which Catholics can be admitted, as well as others, as presidents, professors and pupils. We hope that some educated there will embrace the ecclesiastical state. We think accordingly of establishing a seminary, in which they can be trained to the life and learning suited to that state."[1]

In the "Relation" may be seen some of the difficulties which confronted Carroll. Priests were few, twenty-four all told; of these, five were near man's allotted three score and ten; others were breaking under the hardships their cares demanded. Father Carroll was faced by the problem of "incautious and imprudent priests"; a problem which was to be not the least of his cares for many a day. The question of support for priests was still to be solved, as it involved the estates of the ex-Jesuits. Finally, he had no seminary in which to train future priests to take up his work.

Such was Carroll's statement of the condition of his clergy. He knew that he must have priests. Irish and German immigrants were coming to the new United States, and his duty was to supply the workers for the harvest over which Providence had placed him. "The field for work he calls immense, and he

[1] Shea, History of the Catholic Church in the United States, Vol. II, pp. 259-61.

saw 'innumerable Roman Catholics' who would go out into the new regions bordering on the Mississippi, 'impatiently clamorous for clergymen to attend them'. Hence the way was clear; either to accept all the newcomers who would enter the country, or establish a college 'for the education of youth, which might at the same time be a Seminary for future clergymen'. So far as the newcomers were concerned, Carroll and his fellow-priests were glad to welcome worthy priests, but their experience, even before the opening of the First General Chapter in June, 1783, had not been a felicitous or encouraging one. * * * Carroll's experience with the newcomers, with hardly more than a few exceptions, was not conducive to seeing, in their multiplication, a solution of the problem of clergy scarcity."[2]

To his own experience with these newcomers was joined the weight of the advice of his counsellor and friend, Father Charles Plowden, an English Jesuit. Writing to Carroll, July 3, 1784, Plowden says:

"Upon this occasion I cannot help suggesting that you will do well to be cautious how you engage rambling friars of any cloth or colour whatever. One wrong-headed man who should write idle complaints to Rome might cause infinite disturbance".[3]

Even without sad experience and the advice of others, Carroll realized that the clergy of the country could never be perpetuated without a home Seminary. In 1785 he wrote to Plowden: "The object nearest to my heart now, and the only one that can give consistency to our religious views in this country, is the establishment of a school, and afterwards of a Seminary for young clergymen".[4]

From the date of Carroll's appointment as Prefect-Apostolic the subject of a Seminary recurs often in his correspondence with his fellow-priests here and with his friends abroad. Plowden frequently mentions the Seminary. On February 28, 1785,

[2] Guilday: The Life and Times of John Carroll, p. 308.
[3] Plowden to Carroll. Baltimore Cathedral Archives. Case 6-J3.
[4] Carroll to Plowden. 1785. Balt. Cath. Arch.

he writes to Carroll: "Regulate at least the beginnings of a Seminary for the education of the clergy and youth of America."[5] Again, on March 24, 1787, he writes: "You certainly cannot be too earnest to draw a succession from among yourselves, and I much wish to know the measure which your meeting of 13 Nov. has adopted to promote a school or Seminary."[6]

Carroll was planning to ask his priests to open a school which would assure him students for the priesthood. This was to be done later in the Second General Chapter of November 13, 1786. Before the founding of Georgetown, however, and before the first American Seminary in Baltimore, there were several foreign schemes placed before Carroll for a Seminary either abroad or here.

## Foreign Seminary Plans.

### *French Projects.*

One of the earliest plans for supplying a foreign Seminary for the United States was one that involved Benjamin Franklin. Franklin, the American Minister to Paris, was in touch with Doria Pamphili, the Papal Nuncio at the French Capital. Rome was endeavoring to find out the mind of the American Government on the question of a Bishop in the United States, and the Holy See was conducting its negotiations through the Nuncio and Franklin. Franklin at this time, 1783, was led to believe that Rome wanted a French Bishop for the United States, and apparently he saw no great objection to this.[7] Not only did Franklin agree to the plan of having a French Bishop, but he went even further than the French statesmen in the means he suggested for educating American boys for the priesthood. In a note to the Nuncio Franklin wrote: "There are in France four establishments of English monks, the total revenues of which may amount to 50,000 or 60,000 livres. These monks are few. The want of subjects makes those who remain useless at least. It is possible that the King of France to please the

[5] Plowden to Carroll. Feb. 28, 1785, Balt. Cath. Arch. Case 6-J6.
[6] Plowden to Carroll. Mar. 24, 1787, Balt. Cath. Arch. Case 6-K1.
[7] Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, Vol XXI, pp. 185, ff.

Court of Rome, and to strengthen the bands of friendship with the United States, would permit these establishments to train, instruct and in part support the ecclesiastics who would be used in America".[8] This amounted to confiscation of these Benedictine Monasteries. The proposal did not meet the favor of the French. The Nuncio opposed it;[9] and Antonelli disapproved it in a letter to the Nuncio dated September 27, 1783.[10]

Though Franklin's suggestion was not accepted, there were other plans for an American Seminary in France. Antonelli suggested the building of a Seminary in one of the ports of France, or the combining of the American Seminary with one of the Foreign Mission Seminaries of France.[11]

Later in 1783, on December 27, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Mons. de Cicé, in a letter to Vergennes spoke of a proposition made to him by Franklin. " The object is to secure to religion among the Catholics of the United States more order and facility in the number and choice of ministers necessary for them."[12] The Archbishop asked for more information, although apparently willing to aid Franklin in the work of securing priests for the United States.[13]

During this period this whole problem of a Seminary is involved in the greater problem of the appointment of a Bishop. We have touched only the suggestions advanced for a Seminary in France. When the ex-Jesuits in the United States and in England learned of the efforts of the French they at once endeavored to show Franklin what an injustice to the American priests he would be working by assisting the French plans. Franklin was convinced. "It is certain that he at once determined that sound policy required him to favor the appointment of an American missionary as Superior of the Catholics in the United States, and he certainly from this time exerted all his influence to press the appointment of Rev. Mr. Carroll, to whose qualifications he could bring the testimony

[8] Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, Vol. XXI, p. 197.
[9] Guilday, op. cit., p. 187.
[10] Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, Vol. XXI, p. 199.
[11] Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, Vol. XXI, p. 200.
[12] Shea, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 216.
[13] American Catholic Quarterly Researches, Vol. XXVII, p. 345.

of personal knowledge and daily intercourse for a considerable period."[14]

Franklin's support of Carroll, the growing esteem for Carroll in Rome, and the aid of the ex-Jesuits here and abroad, soon removed the danger of a French appointment, and on June 9, 1784, Carroll was designated Prefect-Apostolic. With the appointment died the projected schemes for an American Seminary in France.

### *Irish Capuchins.*

The Capuchins had a special interest in the new field of the United States. Both Irish and German Capuchins labored here in Carroll's territory and Capuchins had done work in Acadia and Louisiana in Colonial times. Father Whelan, an Irish Capuchin, was with the French Navy here during the Revolution; he returned to America after the war and began to build St. Peter's Church, New York. He left New York because of trouble with Father Nugent, a fellow Capuchin. Carroll wrote to the Provincial of the Capuchins in Ireland for permission to use Whelan elsewhere on the missions and very probably mentioned his great need of priests Father Nulty, then Provincial, on a visit to Rome in 1789 for a Chapter of his Order, proposed to Cardinal Antonelli to supply the new "University" in the United States with Capuchin Professors.

The result of this is seen in a letter from Father John Thorpe, S. J., to Carroll, written at Rome, September 9, 1789: "I wrote you what the Capuchin Provincial Nulty said in favor of himself and of his Irish brethren with whom he offered to fill the chairs of your University, but I would neither recommend him nor them. Cardinal Antonelli seems to repent of the attention that he gave to Fr. Nulty and his discourse. Let this serve as a comment on that Cardinal's letter to you written while Nulty was here."[15]

This plan seems to have gone no further than the proposition advanced to Antonelli.

[14] Shea, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 218.

[15] Thorpe to Carroll. Rome, September 9, 1789, Balt. Cath. Arch. 8-J14.

### *The Mainz Offer.*

One of Carroll's most pressing needs was that of German priests for the missions of Pennsylvania. He tried to secure some through Francis Neale, S. J., then at Liège. Father James Pellentz, of Conewago, Pennsylvania, had written to friends in Europe to enlist their aid in recruiting German priests.[16] In 1785 Paul Millar, the sacristan at Conewago, made a public appeal in a letter, dated June 28, 1785, to the "Mainzer Monatschrift von Geistlichen Sachen".[17] This appeal led later to the coming of the Heilbron brothers, Fathers John and Peter.

To provide a sure means of supply for the missions in America a pastor of Mainz proposed that Carroll should send young Americans to the Seminary at Mainz, there to be trained for the missions. Carroll hesitated to accept this offer.[18] He had found that some among the German missionaries had been infected at German Universities with the prevalent lax views concerning the authority of the Holy See, and for this reason he felt obliged to decline the offer from Mainz until he should be better informed of the teaching given in that Seminary. Joseph II was pushing his plans for a national church. He had suppressed many local Seminaries and created central Government Seminaries. The spirit of nationalism was prevalent and Carroll felt that he must exercise great care in this matter.

In a letter to Antonelli written in 1790, while on his way to his consecration in England, Carroll seems to have decided against the Mainz offer. He makes a declaration of his loyalty to Rome and states his conviction of the need of a close union with the Holy See. This union he hoped to foster in the United States by founding a college and Seminary.[19] Antonelli in a letter of August 28, 1790, commends Carroll for his action on the offer from Mainz.[20]

[16] Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, 1895, p. 305; Idem, 1891, p. 132.
[17] Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, 1895, p. 303.
[18] Letter, Carroll to Pastor of Mainz, July 17, 1783.
[19] Carroll to Antonelli, 1790, Balt. Cath. Arch. 9A-A2.
[20] Antonelli to Carroll, Aug. 28, 1790, Vol. II, (corresp. p. 73) Balt. Cath. Arch.

*Connection with Liège.*

"Liège, from its commencement in 1614, was the house of higher studies and theology for the English mission or province, S. J., and so remained until its suppression in 1773. The Prince Bishop, Francis Charles Count Welbruck, into whose possession the College fell at its suppression, restored it to the ex-Jesuits, who converted it into a Seminary for English Catholic youths and for ecclesiastics under the title of 'The Academy'." [21]

The position of Liège was rather uncertain after the suppression of the Jesuits. It remained in the hands of the ex-Jesuits, but the general outlook hindered its growth and vocations were few, because of unsettled conditions. The directors hoped for re-establishment of the Society or for union with the Society in Russia. Father Strickland wished that Bishop Talbot in England would give Liège some sort of recognition or official connection with the English missions. Talbot did not do so because he felt that Rome would not approve of the action.[22] The ex-Jesuits in England clung to Liège as a center and Strickland obtained in England funds which he used to educate boys. These funds provided him with four scholarships. In writing to Carroll, Strickland stated that these "free" places were meant for English boys, but that he would do all he could for Carroll by accepting American boys until Carroll could start Georgetown College.[23] The ordinary yearly fee at Liège was 40 pounds. For church students there was a reduced fee or "pension" of 25 pounds a year. To enjoy this, however, the student must engage to serve the missions in England or America for life, and must also serve as a teacher at the Academy for a certain number of years, depending on the length of time he had used the reduced pension of 25 pounds. The Academy found it necessary to its continued existence to secure teachers in this way. Eight years' service was the longest term required of any student.[24]

[21] Devitt, S. J., Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, 1908, p. 231-33.
[22] Ward, Catholic Revival.
[23] Strickland to Carroll, July 25, 1786, Balt. Cath. Arch. Case 8, A 2.
[24] Strickland to Carroll, June 28, 1788, Balt. Cath. Arch. 7-V7.

Carroll thought the pension of 25 pounds and the obligation to serve the Academy too severe. Strickland, in answer, thought the Academy which had to subsist entirely on the revenues from the students could do no more for the American missions. Besides, he thought that the service of the Academy would be helpful in preparing teachers for Carroll's own proposed College.[25]

Liège had trained many of the early Jesuits of the United States before the Suppression; it was to be of service until Georgetown was opened. In 1784 three boys, students for the priesthood, were sent to Liège.

The service of Liège to America was, however, in the mind of Carroll and his advisers, to be only temporary. They cherished the constant hope of a College and Seminary in the United States. Strickland speaks of the College which Carroll is soon to establish. Thomas Talbot, writing to Carroll, September 21, 1784, says: "Liège will not be able to supply you with the grown-up and trained plants for the reasons you allege; 'tis well if it can support long its own establishment."[26]

Liège was abandoned in 1794. The French Revolution forced the closing and the community moved to Stonyhurst.[27]

### *American Students in Rome.*

Cardinal Antonelli, in the letter to Carroll which bore the news of Carroll's appointment as Prefect-Apostolic, offered two scholarships at the Urban College for the use of American students. He wrote: "In the meantime, for fear the want of missionaries should deprive the Catholics of spiritual assistance, it has been resolved to invite hither two youths from the States of Maryland and Pennsylvania, to educate them at the expense of the Sacred Congregation in the Urban College; they will afterwards, on returning to their country, be substitutes in the mission. We leave to your solicitude the care of selecting and

[25] Strickland to Carroll, June 21, 1789 (London), Balt. Cath. Arch. 7-V8.

[26] Talbot to Carroll, September 21, 1784, Hughes, History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Documents, Vol I, part 2, p. 624.

[27] Devitt, Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, 1908, pp. 231-33 notes.

sending them. You will make choice of those who have more promising talents and a good constitution, who are not less than twelve nor more than fifteen years of age; who by their proficiency in the sanctuary may give great hopes of themselves. You may address them to the excellent Archbishop of Seleucia, Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, who is informed of their coming. If the young men selected are unable to defray the expenses of the voyage, the Sacred Congregation will provide for them; we even wish to be informed by you frankly and accurately of the necessary travelling expenses to serve as a rule for the future." [28]

It was not until 1787 that Carroll took advantage of the scholarships by sending two boys to Rome. He wanted first to know what the Propaganda was to do about enforcing the Mission Oath on the American boys.[29] On February 17, 1785, he wrote to Thorpe: "With respect to sending two youths, I shall inform Propaganda that it would surely be very acceptable to have children educated gratis in so religious a seminary, and very acceptable to us all to have a succession of ministers of the altar provided for, but as I suppose, they will not receive any into their college but such as shall afterwards be subject to their government, and it being yet uncertain what effect my representations may produce, I shall delay that measure till further information." [30] In a letter to Cardinal Antonelli, February 27, 1785, Carroll asks if the oath will be exacted of the boys.[31] Antonelli's reply, dated July 23, 1785, follows:

"From the enclosed copy you may understand the form of oath which is taken by our students, and you will see clearly

[28] Shea, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 243-245.

[29] "This Mission Oath, as it was called, bound the student to several things; he promised obedience to the laws of the College, he promised that when he had finished his studies, or if he left the college before the completion of his studies, for three years he would enter no religious Order or Congregation without the express consent of the Holy See; he promised also that every year, if he was in Europe, or every other year, if outside, he would send to Propaganda a detailed statement of his work, his health, etc.' (Guilday, op. cit., p. 335).

[30] Carroll to Thorpe, Balt. Cath Arch., Case 9 A - F1.

[31] Guilday, op. cit., p. 336.

that the most important part of the oath dwells upon this: that each student shall return to his own province with the intention of devoting his labors to the apostolic ministry and that each shall inform the Sacred Congregation concerning his own circumstances. If, however, you discover anything in the oath which could afford displeasure under the present conditions, we will not be averse to accommodating the same form of oath to meet the needs of the students of those regions in whatever way shall seem more desirable, and it shall be your duty to advise us on this in good season." [32]

Carroll was satisfied, and after some delays in getting the boys started on their journey he sent word to Antonelli that two students were on their way. The boys, Ralph Smith, and Felix Dougherty, arrived in Rome on January 6, 1788. From this time until 1797 these boys were the only American Seminarians in Rome. In this year both returned to the United States. Dougherty entered the new Saint Mary's, at Baltimore, but left in a short time. Smith undoubtedly gave up at once. There is no record that either was ever ordained. With their return Carroll's relations with foreign Seminaries were closed.

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[32] Guilday, op. cit., 336.

## CHAPTER II.

### The Sulpicians and St. Mary's Seminary.

Between his appointment as Prefect-Apostolic and his election as Bishop, Father Carroll saw more clearly day by day the need of a Seminary in his diocese. The supply of foreign priests could not be depended upon. Projects for training students abroad had failed.

"Sound policy required the fostering of vocations in the new diocese, and an institution for training young levites in the learning and in the true spirit of the priest of God's holy Church. But where was the newly-consecrated Bishop to find men or means to found such an establishment? Providence provided both."[1]

Carroll's election to the See of Baltimore came shortly after the outbreak of the French Revolution. The Bastile had fallen July 14, 1789. Religious persecution was soon to sweep Paris and hundreds of the clergy of France would be sent into exile. Among these were many of the priests of the Society of Saint Sulpice. This Society was established by Father Jean Jacques Olier in 1642 for the particular work of training students for the priesthood. The Seminary of Saint Sulpice in Paris was at the time of the Revolution the greatest and best-known of many Sulpician Seminaries in France. The religious persecution closed practically all of these Seminaries. The priests were dispersed and the future in France looked unpromising.

Before the outbreak of actual persecution the Superior General of the Society, Father Jacques André Emery, foreseeing the dark days to come, and seeking to preserve the Society and its work, turned his thoughts to a foundation in the United States. Much of the difficulty associated with a foreign project like this which he had in mind was removed by the knowledge

[1] Shea, History of the Church in the United States, Vol. II, p. 377.

of the successful work in Montreal. This foundation was made in 1657. At first, Father Emery considered sending his priests to one of the French settlements in Ohio, preferably to Gallipolis.[2] He conferred with the Papal Nuncio in Paris, Mgr. Dugnani, who suggested to him the new See of Baltimore rather than the western settlement. The Nuncio told Father Emery of Carroll's need of a Seminary. The Superior General wrote to Carroll, who was then in England awaiting his consecration. He offered to send priests to Carroll for the purpose of establishing an American Seminary, and invited Carroll to Paris to discuss the plan.[3] Carroll was unable to go to Paris, so Emery sent Father Nagot to England to see the Bishop. Before Nagot's visit Carroll had been uncertain about the plan. He had no money to begin a Seminary and he did not see how he could get it.[4] Father Emery, however, had instructed Nagot to offer to the Bishop not only priests for the staff of teachers, but sufficient money to erect a Seminary and provide for its needs. Carroll gladly accepted and the agreement was made which led to the founding of Saint Mary's Seminary at Baltimore, the first Seminary in the United States.

Carroll, in a letter to Cardinal Antonelli, dated September 27, 1790, writes: "Certainly this is a wonderful mark of Divine Providence in our regard, that such excellent priests should be incited to confer upon us such valuable assistance. From this institution we are filled with hope not only for the increase of divine worship, but also for supplying ministers of the sanctuary."[5] To Lord Arundell, October 4, 1790, Carroll wrote: "We arranged all preliminaries, and I expect at Baltimore early in the summer some of the gentlemen of that Institution to set hand to the work; and I have reason to believe that they will find means to carry their plan into effect. Thus we shall be provided with a house fit for the reception of, and further improvement in the higher sciences of, the young men whom

[2] Cath. Hist. Rev., vol. IV, pp. 427-428. Cf. Amer. Cath. Quar. Researches, vol. XIII, p. 41.

[3] Gosselin, Vie de M. Emery, Vol. I, p. 232.

[4] Shea, op cit., Vol. II, p. 378.

[5] Guilday, The Life and Times of John Carroll, p. 467.

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God may call to an ecclesiastical state, after their classical education is finished in our Georgetown Academy. While I cannot but thank Divine Providence for opening upon us such a prospect, I feel great sorrow in the reflection that we owe such a benefit to the distressed state of religion in France."[6]

On April 8, 1791, the first group of Sulpicians sailed for the United States from St. Malo, in Brittany. Father Nagot was the Superior of the little band, and the trying years which followed proved that Father Emery's choice of Superior was good. With Nagot were Fathers Garnier, Levadoux and Tessier, all Sulpicians. "M. Emery was certainly happy in the choice of the priests whom he sent to America, but he did more for the new institution. * * * He made vigorous efforts to secure students in the French seminaries under Sulpician guidance, and he was not unsuccessful. Five young Levites, all of them speaking the English language, volunteered to become the pioneers of the Baltimore seminary theologians. They were MM. Tulloh and Floyd, both natives of England; Perrineau, an English-speaking Canadian; Edward Caldwell, born at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, a recent convert, and lastly Jean de Montdésir, of the diocese of Chartres."[7] These were the first professors and the first students of Bishop Carroll's Seminary.

Father Emery did more: he received from a friend thirty thousand livres, which he turned over to the new Seminary. He added 100,000 francs from money belonging to the Society. For some years after the Sulpicians came their every need was cared for by the Paris house.[8]

One of the important documents in the study of early Sulpician seminaries in this country is the letter of instructions given to Father Nagot by Father Emery. The spirit of this letter will throw light on later developments between St. Mary's and Georgetown, and between St. Mary's and Mt. St. Mary's. We quote at length:

"The priests of St. Sulpice sent to found a seminary at Baltimore will endeavor, above all things, to be inspired by the

[6] Shea, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 397.
[7] Herbermann, The Sulpicians in the United States, p. 19.
[8] Herbermann, op. cit., p. 19.

loftiest ideal of their vocation. They will bear in mind that their seminary is the first and will be for a long time the only institution of the kind in the United States of America, that it is intended to educate in this seminary all the apostolic laborers who in the designs of Providence are destined to strengthen Catholics in their faith, to bring back heretics to the bosom of the Church, to bear the light of the Gospel to the Redskins; in a word, to spread the kingdom of Christ and His Church in a country much larger than the whole of Europe. Therefore, they will do everything in their power to reach a high degree of sanctity, convinced that they will do more good by their holy lives than by their teaching and their exhortation. * * * Since it has pleased God to bless until now the work of the Society of St. Sulpice, experience convinces us that its spirit is good; and since its proper and characteristic aim is to concern itself only with the education of the clergy, the directors of the Seminary at Baltimore will confine and consecrate themselves entirely to this work, and if at the beginning and under unusual circumstances they find themselves compelled to take up duties foreign to this work, they must consider themselves to be under conditions out of their element, and not to be satisfied until they can return to their special mode of life. * * * "[9]

Father Nagot and the little group arrived in Baltimore on July 10, 1791. Bishop Carroll had not returned from Europe, and the Sulpicians were cared for by Father Charles Sewall, then resident in Baltimore. A few days later a house known as "One Mile Tavern" was purchased, and on this site, at Paca and St. Mary's Streets, the Seminary remains today.

On July 22 the first Mass was celebrated in the new home, and on October 3 the regular work of the Seminary was begun. On April 23, 1792, Bishop Carroll wrote to Cardinal Antonelli: "The establishment of a seminary is certainly a new and extraordinary spectacle for the people of this country. * * * All our hopes are founded on the Seminary of Baltimore."[10]

St. Mary's Seminary was to have several trying years before

[9] Herbermann, op. cit., pp. 20-21.
[10] Herbermann, op. cit., p. 23.

these hopes of Bishop Carroll were realized. Students were few or lacking entirely in the early years. Tulloh and Caldwell, of the pioneer band, left the Seminary soon.[11] In 1792 three new students enrolled, MM. Badin and Barret, who were French, and Prince Demetrius Gallitzin, who later did such noble work on the missions of Pennsylvania. Stephen Badin was ordained in 1793, the first priest from the new Seminary. Perrineau was ordained in 1794. Gallitzin and Floyd were ordained in 1795. From 1795 to 1797 there were no students at St. Mary's. In 1797 Montdésir, one of the first group of students, returned from Georgetown College to finish his studies for the priesthood. He was ordained in 1798. In 1797 William Matthews, the first American-born student, entered, and was ordained in 1800.[12] In the meantime, Father Emery had sent several more Sulpicians to Bishop Carroll. Fathers Chicoisneau, David, Flaget, Maréchal, Richard and Ciquard came in 1792. Father Dubourg, though not a Sulpician when he arrived in 1794, was admitted to the Society in 1795. Father Dilhet came in 1798.

At the beginning of the new century there were twelve Sulpicians in the United States, and eleven of them were on the missions, most of them all the time; others only part time. Ten years after its opening the Seminary had little more hope of success than it had in 1791. In reality it had less. Both Bishop Carroll and Father Emery had looked to Georgetown College for students for the Seminary. The College did not produce students for St. Mary's; this through no fault of Carroll's. Eleven years from 1789, the date of the founding of Georgetown, had not sufficed to bring many boys to the study of Theology.[13] The few who did study for the priesthood were kept at Georgetown to teach the younger boys, at the same time making their own theological studies. Bishop Carroll was forced to this to keep Georgetown College open. His need of teachers was pressing and his graduates gave him a present

[11] Plowden and Strickland to Carroll, Balt. Cath. Arch. 8-B1, 8-C2, 6-06.

[12] Memorial Volume of Centenary of St. Mary's Seminary, 1791-1891; also Records in St. Mary's Archives.

[13] Records of Students, St. Mary's Seminary.

supply. In Baltimore the Seminary stood practically idle, and twice during the first decade the Sulpicians made efforts to open a College or "petit séminaire" for boys. Each time Bishop Carroll objected on the ground that such a college would do harm to Georgetown.[14] In 1793 Flaget and Richard had a few boys of the city under instruction in Latin and French. This work they dropped, at Carroll's request, at the end of one year. In 1799 Dubourg brought three Spanish boys from Havana and with these opened St. Mary's Academy. Bishop Carroll allowed this on condition that no American boy be admitted, and that the numbers be strictly limited. At first he allowed twelve students, later twenty-five.[15]

The Superior General of the Sulpicians soon came to believe that the Baltimore Seminary was a failure. In his letter to Nagot in 1791—the letter quoted above—Father Emery insisted that "education of the clergy" was the "proper and characteristic aim" of Saint Sulpice. His priests were to devote themselves to this alone and were not to be satisfied until they were in this work. After ten years St. Mary's stood vacant; its priests were scattered; Georgetown had not produced the looked-for recruits, and Bishop Carroll would not allow the Sulpicians to open a college which they hoped would give the Seminary its students. Father Emery "seems to have regarded the Bishop's opposition to a Sulpician Academy as a bar to any plan of self-help on the part of his Society, and therefore as a kind of sentence of death to the seminary itself."[16]

Bishop Carroll, of course, had more than the Seminary to care for; he had a vast diocese, with people crying out to him for priests. He had his College at Georgetown to maintain; it was dear to him and to his associates, and he considered it best to maintain it. In his judgment the present needs of the Seminary must be sacrificed to the needs of other important work.

Father Emery on August 9, 1800, opened the following correspondence with Bishop Carroll:

[14] Emery to Carroll, Aug. 9, 1800.
[15] Memorial Volume of Centenary of St. Mary's Seminary, p. 8.
[16] Herbermann, op. cit., p. 96.

"I had advised our gentlemen to bring up in their house young men showing a disposition to become priests according to the wish of the Council of Trent; but M. Nagot has informed me that you declined to authorize this policy because you feared in this way to injure the interest of Georgetown College. I respect your wisdom, and at this distance from Baltimore it does not become me to judge of the reasons which led you to object to our plan; but it seems to me that what outweighs every other consideration is the creation of an American clergy; for what is a diocese whose priests are all strangers, many of them unknown, and who are brought there by circumstances of a passing nature?

"M. Nagot tells me that it was believed possible to escape this difficulty by educating a certain number of young men without reference to the priestly vocation, because it is hoped to pay for the expenses of seminary students from the profit thus made. But I noticed from his letters that all this was not done without some dissatisfaction on your part. In regard to this I have the honor to assure you, Monseigneur, I shall never approve any undertaking of our gentlemen which meets with your sincere and constant opposition. Such approval on my side would be entirely opposed to the spirit of our Society, which can do nothing except in harmony with the bishops. I have, therefore, not approved the establishment of the academy because it lacked your approval."[17]

Bishop Carroll answered Father Emery in January, 1801:

"I am not astonished that you have been pained because the Seminary founded at the cost of so many sacrifices on your part and such promising hopes has been without students for so long a time. Like yourself, I am thoroughly persuaded of the little reliance to be placed on the recruits which come from Europe, so to say, by accident, and of the great advantages to be derived from the priests brought up in the spirit and under the discipline of the seminary. I declare to you, as I have always said everywhere, that I have never seen or known anywhere men better able by their character, their talents and their

[17] Gosselin, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 102; Herbermann, p. 49.

virtues to train ecclesiastics, such as religion requires at present, than the gentlemen of your Society. Therefore, I believe that it would be one of the greatest misfortunes that could happen to this diocese if it were to lose them. I have these feelings so strongly impressed on my mind that I was frightened when I heard that for a short time you had intended to recall them. I earnestly beg of you to give up this thought and to feel sure that in the end they will fulfill the purpose of your society and the views you had when you sent them here." [18]

The correspondence continued with Father Emery coming closer to a final decision for recall of his priests, and Bishop Carroll pleading that the Superior would cause irreparable harm to the infant Church in America by such action. Finally, on February 2, 1803, Father Emery wrote:

" I come to the root of the matter; surely in the entire course of the French Revolution nothing was done similar to what we did for you and your diocese. A small Society like ours, in fact the smallest Society of all, offers to establish a seminary in your diocese; it sends you quite a large number of members; it even sends you seminarians to enable you to start seminary work at once; this Society sends them at its own expense; it undertakes to support these members, and in fact, has ever since then supported them; it sacrifices to this institution the greater part of its savings and gives nearly 100,000 francs. What is the result of all this? At the end of ten years things stand as they did on the first day. At present there is no question of giving up the Baltimore Seminary, because that seminary, in truth, has never existed; there is question only of giving up the project of the seminary. From time to time promises were made that students should be sent there, we were made to regard this as a grace and favor, but the students did not come, and difficulties arose where we should have least expected them. You tell me, Monseigneur, that the Society will leave behind it no monument except a college. I hope that you will bear in mind to some degree all the services which its members have rendered you during ten years. If there is question of complaining, it seems to me that I have a right to complain,

[18] Gosselin, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 103; Herbermann, p. 50.

since at the end of ten years' stay, and after many promises, we have done nothing and been able to do nothing of all that we meant to do when entering your diocese. However, I am very far from finding fault with you; we know that you have not been able to do what you wished, and we are always grateful to you for all the kindness you have shown us."[19]

This seemed final. Bishop Carroll and Father Emery, both strong characters, following what seemed to each his line of duty, had reached a crisis in their relations. A break was inevitable and would surely have come but for Pope Pius VII. The Holy Father was in Paris in 1804 for the coronation of Napoleon. Father Emery placed his problem before the Pope, and the answer of the Holy Father saved St. Mary's Seminary to the United States. "My son," he said, "let it stand, yes, let that seminary stand; for it will bear fruit in its own time."

Before this decision of the Holy Father Bishop Carroll had in 1803 agreed to the opening of the Sulpician Academy to American students. "In the fall of 1803 it was announced that the doors of St. Mary's College would be open to all American students, day scholars or boarders, without distinction of creed.[20] Three years later it had reached an enrollment of over one hundred students. St. Mary's College became soon a very successful college. It attracted students, and in 1805 the Legislature of Maryland raised it to the rank of a University. Its character as a general College, however, took from it the spirit of a "petit séminaire". It produced few vocations to the priesthood in the first years of its existence, and it satisfied neither Father Emery nor Father Nagot. The latter in 1806 took further steps to found a strictly clerical College and moved with a few boys to Pigeon Hill, Pennsylvania.

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19 Gosselin, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 101; Herbermann, p. 51.
20 Memorial Volume of Centenary of St. Mary's Seminary, p. 8.

## CHAPTER III.

### Pigeon Hill and Mt. St. Mary's.

The Sulpicians in Baltimore, as well as in Paris, were not satisfied with St. Mary's College. Their work was with future priests, and the College was not producing them. Many non-Catholic boys were received as students and the spirit was not the spirit of a Tridentine seminary. Writing to Dubourg, November 12, 1804, Father Emery speaks of the danger in accepting non-Catholics. He does not forbid it: it has the approval of Bishop Carroll and that suffices. He warns his subjects, however, that such a situation is abnormal and that they should not act without the advice of the Bishop.[1]

Seeking to set up the ideal "petit séminaire", Father Nagot went in 1806 to Pigeon Hill, Pennsylvania.[2] He established the seminary on a farm given to the Sulpicians by a fellow-exile, Joseph Harent, who had settled there about 1794. Harent began to study for the priesthood in 1805; he joined the Sulpicians, and was ordained in 1812.[3] Even before 1806 the farm was a favorite vacation spot with the priests and students of St. Mary's Seminary and College, and it continued to be so long after the "petit séminaire" was transferred to Mt. St. Mary's.

Under date of August 6, 1806, we find in the "Journal" of Father Tessier, then acting as Supervisor of St. Mary's due to Nagot's ill-health, the following entry: "I have sent many things for the 'petit séminaire' which will be opened August 15, in the night."

For the next three years, until April, 1809, Nagot, with the aid of Father Dilhet and a few Seminarians, maintained a complete "petit séminaire." Tessier's Journal has many interesting references to the Pigeon Hill College.

[1] Letter, Emery to Dubourg, November 12, 1804. Original in Archives of St. Sulpice, Paris; Copy, Sulp. Sem., Washington.

[2] Tessier's Journal, date August 6, 1806. St. Mary's Seminary Archives.

[3] St. Mary's Seminary Records.

Plans, however, had been under way since 1805 for a "petit séminaire" near Emmitsburg, Maryland. Father John Dubois, one of the French exile priests, had been sent by Bishop Carroll to Frederick, Maryland, as pastor. In covering his parish he soon discovered the advantages of the "Mountain" site at Emmitsburg. He made a first purchase of land on April 9, 1805. In the same year Father Dubourg, Superior of St. Mary's College, Baltimore, wrote to Dubois urging him to open a "petit séminaire". The opening of Pigeon Hill in 1806, however, drew the attention of the Baltimore Sulpicians for the time being.

Dubois as early as 1804 had applied for admission to the Society of St. Sulpice and hoped to be able to open the new Seminary as a Sulpician.[4] On September 24, 1808, more property was bought on the Mountain. Tessier's Journal, date of September 27, 1808, reads: "Dubourg and Flaget came from the Mountain, where several hundred acres were bought for a fine location to establish in the future a 'petit séminaire' ". Again under date of November 10, 1808, the same Journal has this entry: "Dubourg left with Mr. Weiss to make the plans of the 'petit séminaire' at Emmitsburg, called Mt. St. Mary's." Dated November 20, 1808, is the following: "Dubourg returned last night from Emmitsburg, where he agreed with the workmen for the building of a house of education, 96 feet long and 50 feet wide".

On December 5, 1808, Dubois arrived at St. Mary's Seminary, and on December 8 he was received into the Society of St. Sulpice. Later in the month he returned to the Mountain, entrusted with the construction of the new building. On April 26, 1809, Nagot and Dubourg took three new students to Mt. St. Mary's, and on April 28 and 29 the transfer of all the students from Pigeon Hill was made. This was the foundation of Mt. St. Mary's College.[5]

[4] Letter, Emery to Dubourg, May 15, 1804. Copy in Sulpician Seminary Archives. Cf. Shea Vol. II, p. 611.

[5] Tessier's Journal; St. Mary's Seminary Archives. Cf. Laity's Directory, 1822. Dubois' statement about Mt. St. Mary's; Cf. Cassidy, Catholic College Foundations and Development in the United States (1677-1850), pp. 20-21.

During the next few years Mt. St. Mary's grew rapidly. In 1811 there were forty students; in 1812 sixty, and in 1813 about eighty. In the beginning only Catholic boys were admitted, but Father Dubois was forced to meet the same trials that changed St. Mary's College, Baltimore, into a general College. Mt. St. Mary's ran into debt and was going deeper year by year. This created a problem for the Sulpicians who were in the abnormal position of having two colleges in close proximity and both practically failures financially. The Baltimore Sulpicians were in favor of closing the Mountain College. Dubois himself admitted that the Sulpicians should have only one college in Maryland, but refused to consider the closing of Mt. St. Mary's.[6] In the attempts at settlement which were made during the years up to 1818 the unsettled conditions following the War of 1812 were important factors. There was distress and suffering for years after the War. For at least ten years money was scarce, and debts hard to collect. Banks were slow to lend, and real estate had only about one-half its former value.[7]

The Baltimore Sulpicians favored the closing of the Mountain for several reasons, the economic pressure being the important factor. Mt. St. Mary's was founded, they claimed, as a "petit séminaire" to furnish students to the Baltimore Seminary. Baltimore had, after great expense in founding the Mountain, received only two or three students in the first ten years. Further, it was claimed that Mt. St. Mary's was no longer a "petit séminaire", but a College of the general type, like St. Mary's Baltimore. The transfer of boys from Baltimore to the Mountain during the War of 1812 helped to change the latter into a general College. The Baltimore College was not able to support itself; Mt. St. Mary's was running more and more into debt; St. Mary's Seminary itself was in debt,

[6] Tessier to Duclaux, March 10, 1819.

[7] This economic factor is important in the history of most of our early Seminaries. Racial prejudice, personal contentions, and lack of administrative ability have been cited as factors in the foundation of Seminary history up to 1830. Undoubtedly they existed to some extent. But the one great care of the early Bishops and Seminary men was money to carry on the work.

and something had to be done to meet the situation which was, in the mind of the Baltimore Sulpicians, becoming extremely serious. The Society was facing bankruptcy.

Dubois, though never cautious of debt, knew the problems and saw the danger. He would have them suppress the Baltimore College and keep the Mountain. He saw the beauties and the natural advantages of the Mountain site and clung to the place upon which he had expended some of his best years. St. Mary's College could not be suppressed at this time. Dubourg, in 1803, had agreed with the State authorities to maintain it for thirty years, under the penalty of forfeiting thirty thousand dollars.[8] Tessier further stated that if St. Mary's College were to be suppressed money would be required to erect more buildings at the Mountain to house the students and professors who should be transferred. Under their financial burdens the Sulpicians at Baltimore could not provide money to keep up Mt. St. Mary's.

Tessier and the Baltimore Sulpicians decided that the problem would have to be settled, as far as they were concerned. Unanimously they voted to offer the title to the property at Emmitsburg to Dubois, on condition that he use it only for the training of clerics under the direction of the Archbishop of Baltimore.[9] The Superior General of the Society did not want to close Mt. St. Mary's, because in his mind it was a "petit séminaire", something Emery had insisted upon from the beginning. The action of the Baltimore house left Mt. St. Mary's under the direct control of Paris. There was complete financial separation from Baltimore. Dubois accepted the titles to the property. Paris allowed the Mountain to teach Theology and Philosophy for a number of years in order that the Seminarians might assist in teaching in the College. Father Bruté was Superior of the Seminarians.

Mt. St. Mary's continued its relations with Paris up to 1826. During these years some of her students were sent to Baltimore for Philosophy and Theology, others remained at the Mountain. Both the Archbishop, Maréchal, and the Superior

[8] Memorial Volume of Centenanary of St. Mary's Seminary, p. 10.
[9] Tessier to Duclaux, August 7, 1818.

General reminded Dubois that his having Seminarians was not to be permanent. He was to strive to send them all to Baltimore as soon as possible.

In spite of all the years of trouble and discussion with the Baltimore house, Dubois and Bruté remained on the best of terms with the Baltimore priests. In 1824 Bruté sailed for Paris with a candidate for St. Sulpice, who was to complete his studies in Paris.[10] Dubois in 1826 made his retreat before his consecration as Bishop in St. Mary's Seminary with his former confrères. In the early months of 1826 the decision was made which separated Mt. St. Mary's entirely from Sulpician control. In a letter dated April 10, 1826, Archbishop Maréchal gave Dubois permission to form a Society which would insure successors to the then present faculty and permanency to the institution.[11] Bruté remained with Dubois at the Mountain. Maréchal advised Dubois to reduce the institution to a " petit séminaire ", but allowed him to keep some of the Baltimore theologians as teachers.

In June of 1826, before Dubois had time to form his new Society, the Bulls appointing him Bishop of New York arrived in Baltimore. In August he left the Mountain and he deeded the property to Fathers Egan and McGerry, who were elected President and Vice-President of Mt. St. Mary's.

With Mt. St. Mary's as with St. Mary's, Baltimore, we have treated the trying early pioneer days of Seminary work in the United States. In both cases we have limited our work chiefly to the foundation and early development.

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[10] The Story of the Mountain, Vol. I, p. 114.
[11] The Story of the Mountain, Vol. I, pp. 148-150.

## CHAPTER IV.

### The Creation of New Dioceses; Effect on the Seminary Movement.

"On the 8th of April, 1808, Pope Pius VII, by his Bulls 'Pontificii Muneris' and 'Ex debito Pastoralis Officii', divided the diocese of Baltimore, and erected the sees of New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Bardstown.

"The Bulls recited that the Sovereign Pontiff had heard with great joy that the Catholic religion was increasing daily in the United States in vitality and growth; that the number of the faithful who bowed their necks to its sweet yoke was by God's blessing greater and more copious. As therefore the one bishop who is established in the see of Baltimore cannot properly direct a flock increasing at points so far removed from each other, his Holiness, knowing that the young lambs of Christ's flock had greater need of pastoral care and protection, hastened to give an increase of new pastors, to obviate the difficulty of distance, and multiply spiritual succor. After deliberating on the matter with his venerable brethren, the Cardinals of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, he proceeds: 'By the advice of the said Brethren, We by the apostolical authority, by the tenor of these presents, erect and constitute four new episcopal sees in the said States, for four respective bishops, now and hereafter whenever a vacancy occurs in any of said sees, to be elected and constituted by us and the apostolic see, namely, 1st, New York, which is to have as a diocese the whole State of that name, and the eastern part of the State of New Jersey, contiguous thereto; 2nd, Philadelphia, the diocese whereof includes the entire two States of Pennsylvania and Delaware, and the western and southern parts of the said State of New Jersey; 3rd, Boston, with a diocese in which we include these States, namely, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Vermont; 4th, Bardstown, that is, in the town or city of Bardstown, and thereto we assign as a diocese the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, and until oth-

erwise provided by this Apostolic See, the territories lying northwest of Ohio, and extending to the Great Lakes, and which lie between them and the diocese of Canada, and extending along them to the boundary of Pennsylvania. Finally, we give and assign the beforementioned churches and each one of them as provincials and suffragans of the Church of Baltimore, which we have this day, by the counsel and authority aforesaid, erected into an archiepiscopal and metropolitan church.' ''[1]

The Bulls appointed Father Richard Luke Concanen, O. P., to New York; Father Michael Egan, O. F. M., to Philadelphia; Father John Cheverus, to Boston; and Father Benedict Joseph Flaget, S. S., to Bardstown.[2]

With his diocese each of the newly appointed Bishops inherited the already existing problem of supplying priests. It is not part of this work to review the poverty of the new dioceses in priests, churches, institutions and money. The various Histories of the Church in the United States, as Shea's, and the diocesan Histories have duly recorded that. Our study deals with the early efforts to establish Seminaries in these dioceses.

### New York.

Bishop Concanen, New York's first Bishop, died in Naples, June 19, 1810, without ever having reached his diocese. The Right Reverend John Connolly, O. P., was named in 1814 to be the second Bishop of New York; he was consecrated Bishop on November 6, 1814, in Rome, and arrived in New York in the latter part of November, 1815, a few days before the death of Archbishop Carroll, in Baltimore.[3] Bishop Connolly, beset by many troubles, desired to have a Seminary, but deemed it impossible. He was hampered by the lay trustee system; he was sorely in need of priests, and the diocese was heavily in debt.[4] In his Diary, February 25, 1818, he wrote: "Our cathedral owes fifty-three thousand dollars, borrowed to build it, for

[1] Shea, Hist. of the Cath. Ch. in U. S., Vol. II, pp. 621-22.

[2] Shea, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 622.

[3] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 175-6.

[4] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 177-80; Cf. Clarke, Lives of Deceased Bishops, Vol. I, p. 198.

which it pays interest at the rate of seven per cent yearly. This burden hinders us from supporting a sufficient number of priests, or from thinking of erecting a seminary. The American youth have an almost invincible repugnance to the ecclesiastical state."[5] Bishop Connolly made efforts to secure good priests from Ireland; in this he was fairly successful. During his years as bishop, however, there was no attempt to establish a Seminary. He died February 5, 1825.

Father Dubois, Superior of Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland, was appointed successor to Bishop Connolly in the See of New York. He was consecrated October 29, 1826, in the Cathedral of Baltimore.

Bishop Dubois had been for years at Mt. St. Mary's. He realized that a Seminary was vital to the formation of a clergy. In a Pastoral Letter of 1827 he stated that he hoped to found a College after the plan of Mt. St. Mary's.[6]

Knowing that he could not build a Seminary at once, Bishop Dubois, while still Bishop-elect, agreed to recognize Mt. St. Mary's as his diocesan Seminary for a period of five years. The agreement was signed September 25, 1826, by Bishop Dubois and Fathers Egan and McGerry, to whom he had deeded Mt. St. Mary's. He agreed not to open a Seminary in his diocese within the five years.[7]

Bishop Dubois now had an official diocesan Seminary. To him, however, it was only to be temporary. He wanted a Seminary in his own diocese. In 1829 the Bishop made a visit to Rome and asked Propaganda for aid in founding a Seminary.[8] From Propaganda he received financial assistance; and while still in Rome he applied to the "Association for the Propagation of the Faith" at Lyons. He made known to the Association that the money he had before received from its treasury had been spent on churches in Newark and Albany. Now, how-

[5] Bayley, Early History of Catholic Church on Island of New York, p. 92. This is quoted from a letter of Bishop Connolly to Cardinal Litta, Prefect of Propaganda.

[6] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 198.

[7] Story of the Mountain, Vol. I, p. 162; Cf. Scanlan, St. Josephs Seminary, Dunwoodie, pp. 9,10.

[8] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 499.

ever, his greatest need was a Seminary. For this purpose he had gone to Europe to seek aid.[9]

Bishop Dubois while in Europe collected money and books for a library, and soon after his return to New York, on April 13, 1832, bought a farm of about 160 acres, near Nyack, about thirty miles from New York City. He met much opposition in furthering the project of the Seminary, and it was May 29, 1833, before the corner-stone was laid.[10]

Father John McGerry was the first president of the Nyack Seminary; the future Cardinal, John McCloskey, was vice-president. Father McGerry wrote to Doctor Cullen, March 10, 1834: "Since I left Rome I have been constantly with his Lordship, Dr. Dubois. The money granted him by the Propaganda has been vested in a farm of 165 acres of excellent land on the banks of the Hudson river, 30 miles from the city of New York. Our farm is immediately on the river and steamboats from every direction can land at our own docks. The location is most happy. The building was commenced last spring, and the walls are now two stories high. The size of the center building is 80 feet square, three stories, with a splendid colonnade; and there will be hereafter two wings of 60 feet each. I know not if we will be able for want of funds to complete the college this year. Yet I have every hope we will. I have been constantly employed at this great concern ever since our return to America; and am now really so tired of business that I sometimes wish I were within the four walls of a convent."[11]

On August 10, 1834, the chapel was dedicated.[12] The Seminary was a reality; two professors and five students were on the grounds, living in farm houses, waiting for the completion of the building. Before it could be opened it was completely destroyed by fire. New York's first Seminary, just ready to

[9] Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, IV., p. 447: Cfr. Historical Records and Studies, Vol. I, pp. 318-19; Rt. Rev. John Dubois, by Herbermann; Cf. Scanlan, St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, pp. 10-11.

[10] Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, 1897, p. 464, Power to Cullen; Cf. Truth-Teller, June, 1833, Account of the Ceremony and the Sermon of Dr. Pise.

[11] Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, 1897, pp. 466-67.

[12] Historical Records and Studies, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 62-63.

begin its work, perished before the eyes of the old Bishop as his beloved Mountain College had, years before. To follow him in his remaining years, still insistent on a diocesan Seminary, until he founded the Seminary at Lafargeville, New York, would take us outside the scope of this work.[13]

### Philadelphia.

When Philadelphia was named a diocese in 1808 Father Michael Egan, O. F. M., was appointed first Bishop of the new See. He was consecrated in Baltimore October 28, 1810.

He died July 22, 1814, worn out by the cares of his diocese. From 1814 to 1820 the diocese was in the hands of the Very Reverend Louis De Barth. On the 26th of November, 1819, Doctor Henry Conwell, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Armagh, Ireland, was elected to the See of Philadelphia. Bishop Conwell reached his See in December, 1820. In 1829, due to the failing powers of Bishop Conwell, Doctor Francis Patrick Kenrick was named coadjutor of the diocese, with powers of administrator. Bishop Conwell died April 22, 1842.[14]

From 1808 to the coming of Bishop Kenrick there was no attempt to establish a Seminary in Philadelphia. Most of these years were years of sorrow and trouble for the Church. Shea writes: "It was the diocese where from colonial days religion had been comparatively free, where Catholics were numerous and better endowed with the goods of this world than in most other dioceses. Yet by the unholy war waged by the trustees of a single church against two successive bishops it was in 1829 without a seminary, a college, a convent academy for the education of young ladies, with but a single asylum, few schools, and a disheartened people. The loss of souls had been great."[15]

Bishop Kenrick came to Philadelphia from Bardstown, Ken-

[13] Further interesting information on the Nyack Seminary may be found in John Talbot Smith's "Cath. Church in New York"; Cf. "Jesuit", Vol. V, p. 69, March 11, 1834.

[14] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 211, p. 218, p. 219, p. 228; Cf. Clarke, Lives of Deceased Bishops, Vol. I, p. 185, p. 310.

[15] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 260; Cf. also Griffin's Life of Bishop Egan and his Life of Bishop Conwell; Cf. also Kirlin, Catholicity in Philadelphia.

tucky, where he had been a professor in Bishop Flaget's Seminary. It is probable that Kenrick at first intended to use Mt. St. Mary's as his diocesan Seminary. Friendship existed between Bardstown and the "Mountain" through Flaget and Bruté. Philadelphia had been sending boys to the "Mountain" in preference to Georgetown or Baltimore, and Bishop Conwell had often visited Mt. St. Mary's.

On September 26, 1830, Bishop Kenrick ordained five clerics belonging to him, at Conewago, Pennsylvania. During their retreat, probably at the "Mountain" where they had studied, he gave them conferences.[16]

Bishop Kenrick was looking to the future, however, hoping for the establishment of a Seminary in his own diocese. The "Catholic Miscellany" in July, 1830, printed the following from a correspondent: "We understand that the coadjutor anxiously awaits an opportunity for raising a Diocesan Seminary, wherein the native youth or the adopted citizens of our country may be formed to the various duties of the ministry. The want of pecuniary resources may retard for a considerable time the execution of this plan, which every friend of religion and of America must wish to see realized. The Rev. Dr. Edward Barron, of a distinguished and opulent Irish family, near Waterford, is, we are informed, likely to come shortly from the College of Propaganda, where he received his ecclesiastical education, and the degree of Doctor of Divinity, to join the new prelate, in his labors. It is expected that his piety and learning may be very efficiently directed towards the establishment of a Seminary."[17]

Bishop Kenrick had had several years' experience in the Bardstown Seminary, and he knew the "Mountain" well. Both of these were of the type of Seminary formed by a combination of Seminary and mixed-College. He did not want this type. He planned on a purely clerical institution which would be a Tridentine Seminary, and he wished to follow the leadership of St. Charles Borromeo in forming his priests.

[16] U. S. Catholic Miscellany, October 16, 1830.

[17] U. S. Catholic Miscellany, July 24, 1830. Doctor Barron did not come until 1837.

"Bishop Kenrick, in June, 1832, began the foundation of the Diocesan Seminary. He ignored the recommendation that the school should be divided into two portions, a paying day-school, and a free-school for theological students, and in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent, he took the first steps to establish a seminary for the training of young men for the priesthood, apart from other students. * * * The upper rooms of his house, No. 92 South Fifth Street (now No. 316), he opened for the lodging and instruction of the first Levites, five in number. Three of these, Patrick Bradley, Henry Fitzsimmons, and Patrick McBride, received tonsure in St. Mary's Church, 5th of August, 1832. The Seminary was placed under the especial patronage of St. Charles Borromeo."[18]

Through the foresight and wisdom and faith of Bishop Kenrick the foundation of the Philadelphia Seminary was well laid. St. Charles Seminary grew and developed, while others of the Seminaries founded during the same period have disappeared. Bishop Kenrick wanted a Seminary according to the mind of the Church, and he had the faith and strength, and the opportunity, to carry it to success.[19]

### Boston.

Boston was one of the four new Sees created in the United States in 1808. Father John Cheverus, a French exile, was named the first Bishop of the See. He was consecrated in Baltimore, November 1, 1810. Bishop Cheverus governed the diocese of Boston until October, 1823, when he returned to France. He died, Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux, July 7, 1836.[20]

Bishop Cheverus' successor in Boston was Benedict Joseph Fenwick, S. J., who was appointed to the See on May 10, 1825, and was consecrated in Baltimore, November 1, 1825. Bishop Fenwick died August 11, 1846.[21]

Both Bishop Cheverus and Bishop Fenwick were keenly alive

[18] Kirlin, Catholicity in Philadelphia, p. 278.

[19] Cfr. Historical Sketch of the Philadelphia Theological Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo, 1832-1905.

[20] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 107, sqq.

[21] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 134, sqq.

to the need of priests and both realized that the only certain way of getting good priests was to train a native clergy. Even before 1808 Father Cheverus and his co-worker, Father Francis Matignon, were zealously trying to build up the priesthood in Boston. Matignon wrote to Bishop Carroll, November 25, 1806, telling Carroll that Father John Thayer had written from London concerning a Seminary in Boston. Matignon quoted Thayer: " * * * The intended little Seminary at Conewago suggests the idea of establishing one at Boston or in the province of Maine. If the Sulpicians can undertake it (as it enters into my plan of giving all for the education of youth), I authorize you to give them $4,000 toward purchasing a house and farm, when they are actually ready to begin the establishment."[22] Nothing resulted from this offer of Father Thayer's.

For the next few years the students for the priesthood from Boston came to St. Mary's, Baltimore, and to Georgetown. Michael White was sent to Georgetown in 1804.[23]

John Sinnott came to St. Mary's, Baltimore, the same year.[24] In 1811 Edward Kavanaugh came to St. Mary's, Baltimore, and John Kavanaugh, his brother, to Emmitsburg.[25] The former, Edward Kavanaugh, left Baltimore, probably when the British began to threaten the city during the War of 1812. A letter of his to Father Maréchal, August 13, 1814, shows more of Father Matignon's zeal. He wrote: "Although being prevented from returning to the Seminary, I have been kept from a place on which my heart is set; yet having the happiness of remaining this winter in the company of my Reverend Pastor, my disappointment has been in some degree softened. I have studied under the Rev. Dr. Matignon a little of Divinity, and the rest of my time has been employed in perfecting myself in the other branches I had already studied. * * * "[26]

There were other Boston students in both St. Mary's and Georgetown. The letters of Bishop Cheverus and Father Ma-

[22] Matignon to Carroll, November 25, 1806, Balt. Cath. Arch. 5-I5.
[23] Cheverus to Carroll, March 26, 1804, Balt. Cath. Arch. 2-N6.
[24] Tessier's Journal, June 12, 1804.
[25] Cheverus to Carroll, October 16, 1811, Balt. Cath. Arch. 2-05.
[26] Maine Cath. Hist. Magazine, January, 1917.

tignon to Archbishop Carroll, and the records of St. Mary's Seminary carry other Boston names.[27] Father Matignon in 1802 visited both St. Mary's and Georgetown, probably in regard to the acceptance of students.[28]

Bishop Cheverus had the pleasure in 1815 of receiving into his own house his first Seminarian. Writing to Archbishop Carroll, May 22, 1815, he said: "I have now with me in this house a young Irishman, aged 28 years, who has studied philosophy, and divinity during a year at Carlow College in Ireland. He has received the tonsure. His name is Dennis Ryan. He has been three months with us; he continues to study divinity, catechises, attends us when we administer the Sacraments, etc. He is of mild manners, and appears sincerely pious. I have written to Kilkenny for an exeat, and if I receive it accompanied with proper testimonials in his favor, after some time I will ordain him. His talents are not brilliant, but I hope he may prove a useful assistant to my venerable friend, particularly when I am from Boston."[29] Rev. Dennis Ryan was the first priest ordained by Bishop Cheverus from his domestic Seminary. "On the last day of May, 1817, Bishop Cheverus ordained Rev. Dennis Ryan, the first priest of this diocese, and long a laborious missioner. The ordination took place at public Mass, the Bishop giving a full explanation of the Catholic doctrine of Holy Orders."[30]

November 19, 1818, after the death of Father Matignon, Cheverus wrote: "I have here with me two priests and a young seminarist."[31] "In 1820, the second of the Bishop's pupils was ordained. Rev. Patrick Byrne, like Dennis Ryan, was a native of Kilkenny. After laboring in Boston, Salem and other places, he was made the first pastor of St. Mary's, Charlestown, and acted in that capacity until a short time before his

[27] Matignon to Carroll, February 17, 1800, Balt. Cath. Arch. 5-H1.; Matignon to Carroll, July 15, 1805, Balt. Cath. Arch. 5-I3; Matignon to Carroll, December, 1809, Balt. Cath. Arch. 5-I10; Records, St. Mary's Seminary.

[28] Tessier's Journal, May, 1802.

[29] Cheverus to Carroll, May 22, 1815, Balt. Cath. Arch. 2-P5. Cf. Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, 1903, p. 361.

[30] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 117.

[31] Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, 1903, p. 493.

death."[32] Bishop Cheverus on December 1, 1822, ordained Virgil Horace Barber, who belonged to the Society of Jesus. Father Barber labored in the diocese until he was recalled by his superior to Georgetown about 1828.

Bishop Cheverus gave himself unstintedly to priests and people. While the great growth of the diocese came under his successor, Bishop Cheverus had laid the foundations upon which to build. He had but little money and few students, but what he had he developed to the utmost, and his successor had a worthy example to follow.

Bishop Fenwick found when he came to Boston but few priests. Without a Seminary he could not form a clergy, and he had no money to build a Seminary. He did what Bishop Cheverus had done and turned his own home into a Seminary. He took therein several boys and devoted to them all the time he could take from his other duties. "Bishop Fenwick was encouraged by the application of two young men in July (1826), James Fitton and William Wiley, who wished to study for the priesthood, soon followed by William Tyler, a nephew of Father Barber. * * * During the year the Bishop had scarcely a moment to himself; his lessons to his seminarians, his parochial work, * * * absorbed his whole time."[33]

That his Seminary produced priests may be seen from the ordinations in December, 1827. "In the Ember Days of December, 1827, Bishop Fenwick had the consolation of ordaining as priests Revs. James Fitton, William Wiley and John Smith, whom he had trained for his missions."[34]

When Bishop Fenwick enlarged his church in 1827, he fitted up two school-rooms in the basement. In one he placed the boys of the parish under the care of his seminarians; in the other, the girls under lay women teachers. The school was closed about twelve years later, because the Seminarians were too busy with their own studies to care for the burdens of teaching.[35]

[32] Leahy, Boston, p. 39 in Cath. Church in New England.

[33] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 144-45.

[34] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 153.

[35] Catholic Almanac, 1850, p. 63; Cf. Metropolitan Cath. Calendar and Laity's Directory, 1834, p. 80.

The Bishop was constantly planning for a new Seminary. In May, 1828, Father Deluol, later Superior of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, stopped in Boston on his way back from Montreal. Bishop Fenwick asked him for three Sulpicians to open a Seminary in Boston. This plan did not materialize because the question of a Metropolitan Seminary in Baltimore was being discussed and the coming Council was expected to act upon the matter.[36]

Bishop Fenwick appealed frequently to the "Association for the Propagation of the Faith", and in all his appeals he spoke of the need of a Seminary. Without it the future of the Church in Boston was dark. With a Seminary he could get many priests for the work of the Lord. "Oh, if I had but the means to build a Seminary for even a dozen good young men! With such a beginning what infinite good could I not promise myself."[37] He was sure he could get students. Besides those in his own home, he had several boys in Montreal College.[38] From the Association for the Propagation of the Faith he received grants at various times during these years. On September 26, 1852, he acknowledged a grant of 14,000 francs and said that this amount would insure the success of a venture he had already made for a locality for the establishment of a Seminary. The site being assured, the Bishop commends to them the vital need of a new building.[39] Again on February 3, 1833, he thanked the Association and told of his plan for a Seminary.[40] His project was successful, and on August 27, 1835, the Bishop wrote again, acknowledging the receipt of 37,480 francs from the Association: "I have already received it, and never did help come more opportunely. I was just then engaged in building an ecclesiastical Seminary, from which I hope for the greatest good. I have already in a previous letter explained the need there was here of such an institution; today, thanks to

[36] Deluol's Diary, May 1, 1828, St. Mary's Archives.

[37] Annals of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Vol. V, May 16, 1831.

[38] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 152.

[39] Cf. U. S. Cath. Intelligencer, April 27, 1832; Annales de l'Assoc. de la Prop. de la Foi, Sept. 26, 1832.

[40] Annales de l'Assoc. de la Prop. de la Foi, Feb. 3, 1832.

the help of the most beneficent of Societies, I have every reason to hope that I shall soon see the fulfillment of the desires nearest my heart. I think that, during the course of next Fall, I shall be able, with the help of God, to open my new Seminary, which will then be far enough advanced and large enough to receive twenty-five or thirty boarders. I intend also to admit the same number of externs, who, although not living in the Seminary, will have the advantage of its teaching. The location of the building is altogether favorable. It is built between the cathedral and the Bishop's House, and touches both in such a way that the students can at all times have access to both. Although housed in the middle of the city, they will still be as much shielded from public curiosity as they could be in the country. * * * "[41]

December 13, 1836, he announced the completion of the building. "Our Seminary building is finished, but it still lacks professors. Thus far the clergy of Boston have been too few to permit any to be withdrawn from pastoral work, and to be assigned to study and teaching. I have thus far only a single professor. However, with the help of God, I hope to have more the coming year."[42]

### Bardstown.

Bardstown was the fourth See erected in the United States in 1808. Benedict Joseph Flaget, S. S., was the first Bishop of this Kentucky See. He was consecrated on November 4, 1810. Bishop Flaget died February 11, 1850. During all these years, with the exception of a few months, he had governed the diocese of Bardstown, which was transferred to Louisville in 1841. In 1832 Bishop Flaget resigned his See, and Bishop David, his coadjutor, became Bishop of Bardstown. A few months later, in 1833, Bishop David resigned, and Bishop Flaget was reappointed by Rome. With the aid of successive coadju-

[41] Annales de l'Assoc. de la Prop. de la Foi, Aug. 27, 1835.

[42] Annales de l'Assoc. de la Prop. de la Foi, Dec. 13, 1836; Cf. The U. S. Catholic Almanac, 1836, pp. 124, 125.

tors, Bishops David, Chabrat, and Martin John Spalding, he ruled the See until his death.[43]

Bishop Flaget met problems unlike those in the eastern Sees. Shea gives the characteristics of the Kentucky diocese. "The diocese of Bardstown, the fourth of those created by Pope Pius VII, in 1808, differed essentially from these bishopries on the coast. The State of Kentucky began to be settled about the commencement of the revolutionary troubles. Then men from Virginia and Maryland made their way to the lands south of the Ohio, and began to clear the forest and build up a new commonwealth. Many of the emigrants were Catholics; some of the first to fall by the way, or, after reaching Kentucky, by the hands of the Indian foe, were Catholics. They helped to found and build up the new State; sturdy backwoodsmen, strong, brave, earnest, they were the peers of those around them. Life was plain and rude, comforts were few, luxuries unknown. Priests broke into the wilderness to attend these clustered bodies of the faithful, who in God's providence selected generally the poorest, but perhaps the healthiest situations. The Carmelite Paul of St. Peter, the Capuchin Whelan, Rev. Mr. Rohan, effected little. It was not till Bishop Carroll had ordained his first priest, Rev. Stephen J. Badin, and sent him to Kentucky, that any real commencement was made for the Church. Then came the day of log churches and long priestly journeys to the Catholic settlements. Rev. John Thayer came and went. Rev. Messrs. Salmon and Fournier came to labor till death. Rev. Charles Nerinckx to toil like a hero, form church after church, create a sisterhood, draw recruits for the priesthood from his own Belgium, as well as vestments, plate, paintings, and other requirements for the churches which he divided ungrudgingly. The Dominicans, guided by the advice of Bishop Carroll, established a convent and college. Thus Kentucky had a life of its own."[44]

[43] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 264, ff; p. 597, ff. Cf. Spalding, "Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky"; also Spalding, "Life, Times and Character of Bishop Flaget"; Cf. O'Daniel, "Life of Bishop Fenwick, of Cincinnati"; Cf. Webb, Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky; Cf. Howlett, St. Thomas Seminary.

[44] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 264-65.

Bishop Flaget's problems were different from those of New York, Boston and Philadelphia. So, too, was his action in regard to a Seminary. Bishop Flaget took his Seminary with him when he made his first journey to his diocese. Of the four suffragan bishops appointed in 1808, he alone started a Seminary. He had been a professor in Sulpician Seminaries, and it was natural for him to think of the need. He was fortunate in getting from Father Emery, Superior-General of the Sulpicians, Father John Baptist Mary David to be Superior of his Seminary.[45] Without Father David, Bishop Flaget could have had no Seminary. For years he was the Seminary. He was the only professor for the first decade. The story of St. Thomas' Seminary has been well told by M. J. Spalding, B. J. Webb, Gilmary Shea, W. J. Howlett and others, in diocesan history and biography.[46] For the most part they all go to the letters of Flaget and David for the details of foundation and early history.

Father David on September 14, 1814, wrote to Father Duclaux, his Superior in Paris. He spoke of Bishop Flaget's Seminary already at work. "This is, in fact, what Bishop Flaget has done. It is the only way he has to get missionaries for his diocese, which is almost entirely lacking in them. We left Baltimore, May 13, 1811, taking with us the elements of a Seminary, i. e., Chabrat and Derigaud, whom Bishop Flaget brought from France, and a young Frenchman of Philadelphia who had long desired to have some priest test his vocation to the priesthood. We arrived June 4 at Louisville, on the Ohio, 38 miles from Bardstown, whither we went the following Saturday. From Bardstown we went to take lodgings with Badin, who had built a log house of one room for the Bishop. This was called, without irony, the 'Bishop's Palace'. The seminarians lodged in another log cabin, and I in a small closet. Chabrat, then a sub-deacon, taught the other seminarians till he was ordained to the priesthood. Meanwhile, I took charge of three or four congregations which were in need of a priest.

[45] Flaget to Duclaux, June 27, 1814. Copy in Sulpician Seminary Archives; also Flaget to Tessier, Sept. 16, 1813.

[46] Works listed above (Note 43, this chapter).

I prepared them for Chabrat, who was destined to take them over as soon as he should be ordained. A pious layman, Thomas Howard, has left by will a fine plantation to the Bishop of Bardstown for a Seminary. But the Church could get actual possession of only the half of it, because the widow had been given a life tenure of the other half. This good woman, eager to see the wishes of her husband realized without delay, urged the Bishop to accept the whole estate, or to establish a Seminary in the house she lived in. Her offer was accepted, and our seminarians, then five in number, moved there December 5. I went there the same day from my post on the missions and took charge of the nascent Seminary."[47] The letter goes on at length, giving details of the life and rule of the Seminary. It tells of the growth in numbers to that date, of Chabrat's ordination in December, 1811, and of the kindness of Mrs. Howard to the young Seminary.

The various histories dealing with the story of St. Thomas' Seminary differ here and there in details. Flaget and David differ, writing in later years, but the differences are restricted likewise to details. Flaget and David agree in substance on the important events of these early years.

Writing to Archbishop Carroll on August 6, 1811, and again on August 22, 1811, Bishop Flaget told him of Mrs. Howard's charity to the Seminary. He was placing all his hopes in this institution. " * * * I am persuaded, and all my fellow-laborers are of the same opinion, that in 15 years hence there will be no priest in Kentucky, if I do not succeed in the establishment of my Seminary."[48] On January 1, 1812, Bishop Flaget again wrote his Archbishop: "The Rev. Mr. David is already in Mrs. Howard's plantation with five seminarists; I believe that the house can contain two or three more who are to join the family in a very short time, and in the beginning of the Spring, if Providence comes to my assistance, I will have an addition made to be able to take double this number.

[47] David to Duclaux, Sept. 14, 1814; copy in Sulpician Seminary Archives.

[48] Flaget to Carroll, Aug. 6, 1811, and Aug. 22, 1811, Balt. Cath. Arch., 8A-K1—8A-K2.

All the good to be done in my diocese for the time to come depends on this establishment. I recommend it to both your temporal and spiritual assistance."[49] To Bishop Plessis of Quebec he wrote substantially the same, on January 15, 1812.[50]

Bishop Flaget, wishing to be certain of the continuance of his Seminary, offered it to the Sulpicians several times. St. Sulpice had too few priests to undertake the new charge. "I am ready," he wrote, " whenever St. Sulpice sees fit, to endow our Seminary to the extent of supporting four or five priests if the Society will undertake to send them."[51]

Apart from these letters, we have the report of Bishop Flaget to Rome in 1815, in which he gave in detail the story of the early days of his Seminary.[52]

There were undoubtedly many crises in the early days of St. Thomas' Seminary. Like all the pioneer Seminaries, it suffered from poverty in teachers, money, and buildings. Twice, however, the life of the Seminary was seriously threatened. The first time was in 1813, when Father Tessier, Superior of the Sulpicians in the United States, spoke of recalling David to Baltimore. Bishop Flaget wrote strongly to Father Tessier, telling him that if David were taken the seminarians would have to be dismissed; six religious sent home from the new convent, and several congregations deprived of Mass. Father Emery had given Flaget permission to keep David as long as he was necessary. He was still necessary; without him the diocese would fall into chaos.[53] Again, on January 27, 1814, Bishop Flaget begged Tessier not to recall David. It would be death to his institution and, he said, " Our Seminary is larger in numbers than yours."[54]

To make certain of retaining Father David, Bishop Flaget wrote to Father Duclaux, Superior General of the Sulpicians, June 27, 1814: " David is absolutely necessary to me, not only for the Seminary, which exists only by him, but also as my

[49] Flaget to Carroll, January 1, 1812, Balt. Cath. Arch. 8A-K3.
[50] Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, 1907, p. 18.
[51] Faillon's Manuscript History of St. Mary's, Balt., p. 168.
[52] Catholic Historical Review, Oct. 1915, pp. 305-319.
[53] Flaget to Tessier, Sept. 16, 1813, St. Mary's Seminary.
[54] Flaget to Tessier, Jan. 27, 1814, St. Mary's Seminary.

adviser and my friend. * * * His going would destroy the hope of a clergy here. * * * "[55] The result of all this was that David remained in Kentucky and St. Thomas' Seminary was safe for the time being.

It was not long before Bishop Flaget was again threatened with the loss of Father David. When Philadelphia became vacant through the death of Bishop Egan in 1814, Archbishop Carroll suggested David to the Holy See as worthy of the appointment. Bishop Flaget, while admitting that David was most worthy of being Bishop, repeated in letters to the Archbishop what he had so often said before. If David were taken the Seminary would close, the hope of a clergy would die, the Church in Kentucky would be ruined.[56]

David, anxious to escape the dignity, joined Flaget in his protests, and Rome did not force the appointment. Once again David remained and the existence of St. Thomas' was assured. Its continuance was made doubly sure when in 1817 Father David was appointed as coadjutor to Bishop Flaget. He was consecrated August 15, 1819.

About the same time Bishop Flaget transferred the students who were in Theology to Bardstown, to be with him near the Cathedral. Bishop David went with the theologians and the direction of the old Seminary on the Howard farm was left to Father Derigaud. The old place was now only a preparatory Seminary.[57]

Such were the early years of St. Thomas' Seminary. Its later history would show many events of interest, but we are concerned principally with its foundation. Doctor Francis Kenrick came as professor in answer to Bishop Flaget's appeal in 1821, and until 1830 he continued to help in training the priesthood of Kentucky.[58] St. Joseph's College, started by Bishop Flaget in connection with the Seminary, changed his

[55] Flaget to Duclaux, June 27, 1814. Copy in Sulpician Seminary Archives.

[56] Flaget to Carroll, Oct. 10, 1814, and July 21, 1815, Balt. Cath. Arch. 8A-K5—8A-K6.

[57] Howlett, St. Thomas Seminary, pp. 70-71.

[58] Webb, Catholicity in Kentucky, p. 375.

institution into a Seminary-College combination, like those in Baltimore and in Emmitsburg. The Bishop was in debt and had no means to run an independent Seminary. The prospects for a general college were good, and he was forced to open it.[59] St. Joseph's was a success, but it never had the spirit of the heroic pioneer days of the earlier generation at St. Thomas'. St. Joseph's did support the Seminary at the Cathedral, which otherwise must have closed.

St. Thomas' Seminary never was firmly settled in any one of its homes. Bishop Flaget adapted the Seminary to the necessities of the day. Both he and Bishop David knew the character of the people among whom they were working and the native boys were made priests in their simple native environment. In a few years Kentucky had a clergy from its own soil and was not dependent upon wandering or foreign missioners. This was due to St. Thomas' Seminary under the care of its two saintly Bishops.

These were the projects and foundations in the four suffragan Sees erected in 1808. The chapter which follows will deal with the dioceses of St. Louis, Charleston and Cincinnati, all of which had Seminaries before the Second Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1833.

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[59] Howlett, St. Thomas Seminary, p. 74.

## CHAPTER V.

### Seminaries in the Dioceses of New Orleans–St. Louis, Charleston and Cincinnati.

We have followed the growth of the Seminary movement from the first foundations in the diocese of Baltimore into the Suffragan Sees established in 1808. Three more dioceses were builders of Seminaries before the Council of 1833. These Seminaries were erected in St. Louis, then part of the diocese of New Orleans, in Charleston and in Cincinnati.

### New Orleans—St. Louis.

New Orleans as a diocese has a long history under French and Spanish rule. Our interest in it for this particular work begins with the date of August 18, 1812, when Father William Louis Dubourg, S. S., was appointed Administrator Apostolic. Three years later, September 18, 1815, he was made Bishop of the See. In 1818, because of trouble in New Orleans, Bishop Dubourg took up his residence in St. Louis. In 1823 he returned to New Orleans. Father Joseph Rosati, C. M., was appointed coadjutor Bishop of New Orleans in 1824, with residence in St. Louis. In 1826 Bishop Dubourg resigned his See and returned to France. In the same year the diocese was divided and St. Louis was the home of the new See. Bishop Rosati was at first appointed to New Orleans, but in 1827 was appointed definitely to St. Louis. He governed the diocese until his death in 1843.[1]

When Father Dubourg reached New Orleans in 1812 he found religious conditions very poor. After almost three years there was little change for the better. He lacked priests; he had no Seminary and no funds.[2] In a letter to Flaget in De-

[1] Shea, Hist. of Cath. Ch. in U. S., Vol. III, pp. 356 ff. 395 ff. Cf. Clarke, Lives of Deceased Bishops, Vol. I, pp. 205, ff. 351 ff. Cf. also De Andreis, Sketches of the Life, pp. 43, ff.

[2] Annales de l'Assoc. de la Prop. de la Foi, Vol. I, p. 44. Cf. Annals of the Congregation of the Mission, July, 1914, Vol. XXI, pp. 333, ff.

cember, 1814, he made known his decision of going to Rome. "Yes, Monseigneur, were it necessary I would go to China, either to be relieved of this terrible burden, or to seek necessary aid to enable me to bear it properly."[3]

In 1815 he went first to France to seek help. He tried the Foreign Missions in Paris and he begged in Lyons. From France he went on to Rome, and there was consecrated Bishop, September 24, 1815. In Rome he put his poverty-stricken work before Pius VII and Cardinal Litta, Prefect of the Propaganda. He begged for priests, and through the influence of Cardinal Consalvi, Papal Secretary of State, he was enabled to obtain a group of priests and students from the Lazarists of Monte Citorio.[4]

In the contract drawn between Bishop Dubourg and the Congregation of the Mission the founding of a Seminary in the diocese was to be one of the first duties of the new missioners. Article 8 of that contract reads: "They will earnestly strive to promote and carry out, as soon as possible, the erection of a seminary, which, aided by the moderate pension required of the seminarists, need not, it is presumed, be very long delayed."[5]

The little group of Lazarists, under Father Felix De Andreis as Superior, left Bordeaux June 13, 1816, and landed in Baltimore July 26. In the group was Father Rosati, later Bishop of St. Louis. After a month with the priests of St. Mary's, Baltimore, they started for Bardstown, following the route Bishop Flaget had taken with his embryo Seminary five years before. In November the Lazarists reached Bardstown, and for almost a year the whole community enjoyed the hospitality of Bishop Flaget in St. Thomas' Seminary. The two groups were almost as one. In 1818 Bishop Dubourg took up his residence in St. Louis and the Lazarists went on to that city.[6]

In the Spring of 1818 Bishop Dubourg sent the Lazarists to the Barrens, about eighty miles above the city of St. Louis.

[3] Spalding, Life of Flaget, p. 165.

[4] De Andreis, Sketches of the Life of, p. 54.

[5] Op. cit., p. 60.

[6] De Andreis, Sketches of the Life of, Chap. V. and VI, passim. Cf. Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 360, ff.

There the first Seminary in this diocese was founded.[7] It was in a Catholic settlement and, although the handicap of poverty and frontier conditions was great, the people were generous with gifts and labor. Bishop Dubourg, writing later to a friend, said: "At last, I have my Seminary, which is a great drain on my resources, but for which I have hopes of finding some regular help from my parishes."[8] Later, in January, 1823, he wrote: "God alone knows what the establishment of my Seminary has cost me in work and anxiety; but it is started, and all that is now necessary is a moderate sum each year."[9]

That the Seminary was successful may be seen from a letter of the Bishop, written August 20, 1823: "But to insure a solid edifice, one must build durable foundations. Providence bestowed upon me some precious members of the order of St. Vincent. I immediately set about erecting a Seminary under their guidance, which has already furnished me with some priests, and where today are educated gratuitously from fifteen to twenty aspirants to the priesthood. * * * "[10]

The Seminary at the Barrens, like all the early Seminaries, passed through trying days of poverty and need. Yet it grew steadily and flourished. Once its existence was endangered, when Bishop Dubourg proposed to open another Seminary in Lower Louisiana.[11] He had gone back to New Orleans in 1823

[7] De Andreis, Sketches of the Life of, p. 162; Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 365.

[8] Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, Vol. I, pp. 20-21.

[9] Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, Vol. I, pp. 59-61.

[10] Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, Vol. I, cahier 5, pp. 43-45.

[11] Cath. Hist. Rev., July, 1917. The details given concerning this project are taken from the article by Souvay on "Rosati's Elevation to the See of St. Louis." The same writer gives the history of another early project for a Seminary in St. Louis. In 1816 Bishop Flaget received word that Upper Louisiana would be made a diocese during that year. Flaget was mentioned for the new diocese. He issued a circular, March 3, 1816, to the priests of that district. Bishop Flaget advised that deputies, chosen at the general meetings of the parishes, should meet at St. Louis to take measures for the housing and support of the Bishop, for a site for a Seminary, near the church or the Bishop's residence and on land which "some day might yield enough to support and educate a good number of young men destined for the ecclesiastical state." The later history of the Diocese shows that this was never more than a project. Cath. Hist. Rev., Apr., 1917, pp. 5-9.

to reside there. Money and property were offered to him for a new Seminary, and he asked the Lazarists to take up the new work. At first the Lazarists, through Rosati, reported favorably on the project to their Superiors in Rome. Nothing was said about the suppression of the Barrens. In 1825, however, Bishop Dubourg expressed the wish that Bishop Rosati would go to New Orleans with the Seminary, leaving one or two priests and the lower classes at the Barrens. The Lazarists thought the plan, as Bishop Dubourg outlined it to them, was too risky, and beyond their powers as a young Congregation in the country. They felt it was unfair also to the Missions of Missouri. In their opinions they were supported by both Bishops Flaget and David. As a result they advised their Superiors in Rome against approving the project. The Seminary at the Barrens remained. In 1826 St. Louis was made a diocese and, in 1827, Bishop Rosati was appointed first Bishop of this See. The continued existence of the Seminary was assured.

### Charleston.

On July 11, 1820, Rome erected the See of Charleston. The Reverend John England was appointed to the See, and on September 21, 1820, he was consecrated the first Bishop of Charleston. For twenty-two years he governed the diocese, and died April 11, 1842.[12]

When Bishop England arrived in his diocese he found it extremely poor. In one of his letters he wrote: "When I was appointed Bishop of the Diocese of Charleston, toward the close of the year 1820, I found myself burdened with the spiritual care of three large States, together containing about a million and a half of people, in fact about one-seventh of the whole population of the United States, * * * a territory of 133 thousand square miles. I found upon my arrival one small brick church in South Carolina; in Georgia one log and two frame edifices—in all four churches. In South Carolina there were probably two hundred communicants; in Georgia, one hundred and fifty; in North Carolina, twenty-five—a total of three

[12] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 306 ff.

hundred and seventy-five. In Georgia and South Carolina there were only three priests. In coming over from Ireland I had brought along, at my own expense, three more whom I had ordained. Those who were already here did not long remain with me. Still I managed to obtain three others, so that I was able to assign two to Georgia, three to South Carolina, and I personally attended to the pastoral wants of North Carolina as soon as I had completed my visits to the chief religious centers of the other two States. * * * "[13]

Like most of the Bishops of these first American Sees, Bishop England immediately took steps to raise up a native clergy. His reasons for founding a Seminary are well told in the following quotation from a "Memoir" written by William George Read:

"His first and greatest want was that of a competent clergy. His diocese, like most poor and thinly peopled ones, had been a city of refuge to outcasts from others. Men of talent and merit were in eager request where not only greater temporal advantages, but ampler opportunities to do good, invited them. His sad experience, too, with some valuable co-laborers, whom zeal of martyrdom, or attachment to his person, attracted to that insidious climate, convinced him of the necessity of educating a native clergy, or at least composed of such as long and early acclimation might seem to insure against being cut off in the midst of their usefulness. He attached also the utmost importance to what might be called the 'naturalization' of Catholicity. He desired that it should not longer be regarded as the religion of the stranger, but that its ministers should be American in principle, feeling, and habit—familiarized by long experience with all the practical workings of our political system.

"With these views, he founded a Seminary. But how, in his destitution of pecuniary means, was it to be supported? His rapid observation detected the languishing state of rudimentary education. He incorporated a classical and scientific academy with his diocesan Seminary, united in his own person the

[13] Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, Vol. IV, pp. 299-300. Cf. Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, Vol. XIX, pp. 118-119.

school-master and doctor of divinity, and his embryo theologians were subsisted by the very means that had consigned his father to a jail."[14]

The Seminary spoken of in the above quotation was called by the Bishop "The Philosophical and Classical Seminary of Charleston." It was opened January 8, 1822. He hoped by the funds received from the students in the general classes to support his candidates for the priesthood. The latter were to assist him in the teaching of the lower classes, and in turn were to receive their theology from the Bishop.[15] It was the Seminary-College combination used by many of the early Bishops of the United States. In his diary, January 8, 1822, Bishop England wrote: "Opened the Seminary at Vauxhall, the object of which was by its profits to assist in paying for the purchase of the ground, the building of a Cathedral and Seminary, and the education of candidates for Holy Orders."[16]

For a short time the venture was a success. In a few months it had enrolled one hundred and thirty pupils. When it became known that the Bishop intended to educate his clergy by means of the profits from the school, bigotry became active and about one hundred students were withdrawn.[17] Bishop England kept his institution open in the face of all difficulties, including extreme poverty. He taught classes in many branches, in the college as well as in the theological Seminary.[18]

The Seminary, once established, grew and produced priests. On January 9, 1825, the students for the priesthood were formally introduced into a home of their own, the new Seminary of St. John the Baptist. Under date of January 26, 1825,

[14] The Religious Cabinet, Vol. I, July, 1842. Memoir of Bishop England, by Wm. George Read.

[15] Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, 1897, pp. 322, 323, England's Reports to Propaganda, 1833. Cf. Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 318. Cf. Clarke, Lives of Deceased Bishops, p. 287. Cf. Reynolds, Works of England, Vol. III, pp. 255-256. England's own History of Charleston.

[16] Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, 1895, p. 200.

[17] England's Report to Propaganda, 1833. Taken from Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, 1897, pp. 322-323. Cf. Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 318. Cf. U. S. Hist. Magazine, Vol. IV, p. 165, England to Gaston, Sept. 21, 1822.

[18] Alerding, Diocese of Vincennes, p. 113. Letter to Bruté.

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the "Catholic Miscellany" gave the following account of the ceremony: " * * * The ecclesiastical students of the Diocese who were in the city were introduced by the Bishop into their dwelling, which is contiguous to the Cathedral, the services of which they attend; and also contiguous to the school of the Seminary, in which some of them teach. * * * When Mass was concluded one of the Church-Wardens, attended by the other members of the Vestry, came to the front of the Sanctuary, and the Rev. John McEncroe introduced the students who were given in charge to the Rev. John Bermingham, to whom the Bishop delivered the rule which they were to observe. After a suitable admonition, the whole body went in procession to the dwelling, and at the door the Church-Warden delivered the key to the Bishop, who went in and blessed the place, under the invocation of St. John the Baptist, who had been selected by the Convention of 1823, the Patron Saint of South Carolina. The Bishop then delivered the key, with a suitable admonition, to the Rev. Mr. Bermingham, and the students have since continued in their house, in the observance of the rule."[19]

Like all the early Seminaries, the Seminary of Charleston was forced to suffer much. Yet from its poverty and sacrifices there came forth a priesthood worthy of the Bishop who trained it. In his report to Propaganda in 1833 Bishop England stated that at that time his Seminary had produced twenty priests.[20] O'Connell, writing of the priests trained in the Seminary, says: "About fifty priests were educated and ordained in the diocese; as a body they are excelled by no diocesan clergy in learning, piety, and zeal. * * * "[21]

### Cincinnati.

Cincinnati was made an episcopal See on June 19, 1821. The first Bishop of the diocese was Edward Dominic Fenwick, O. P. Bishop Fenwick was consecrated by Bishop Flaget, January 13, 1822. He died September 26, 1832.[22]

[19] U. S. Cath. Miscellany, January 26, 1825, p. 63.

[20] Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, 1897, pp. 322-323.

[21] O'Connell, Catholicity in the Carolinas and Georgia, p. 263.

[22] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 330 ff. Cf. Clarke, op. cit., pp. 328 ff. Cf. O'Daniel, Edward Dominic Fenwick, O. P. Cf. Lamott, History of the Arch-

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The diocese of Cincinnati, like the other early dioceses of the United States, was lacking in priests, churches, institutions and financial means. Bishop Fenwick, like his brother Bishops, was forced to begin building the foundations of his diocese. The problem of recruiting a clergy was one of the greatest he had to meet, and he sought to meet it, as it had been met by other Bishops, by founding a Seminary-College. He hoped to entrust the institution to the Dominicans who were in Kentucky, and in 1822 he called three members of his Order to Cincinnati to establish the College. Bishop Flaget protested, and through Cardinal Consalvi's influence the Dominicans remained in Kentucky and Bishop Fenwick's hopes were frustrated, to his sorrow and disappointment.[23]

In 1823 Bishop Fenwick went to Europe to seek help. His poverty was hampering his work and he could not build up the Church without priests and without funds. From the Holy Father and from Propaganda he received aid. He sought and found help in many cities of Europe and he was generously assisted by the "Association for the Propagation of the Faith" at Lyons.[24] Spalding, in his Life of Bishop Flaget, quotes from the United States Catholic Magazine, referring to Bishop Fenwick's success in Europe: "* * * And the dejected Bishop, who had landed on the shores of Europe very much in the condition of 'the sower who had sowed in tears', returned like that sower, 'with joyfulness', having gathered a rich harvest."[25]

With his Seminary-College in mind, Bishop Fenwick had tried to enlist the services of European Dominicans. In this he was not successful.[26] The Bishop returned to Cincinnati in 1825 and immediately began the work of building a new Cathedral and bought ground for a Seminary.[27]

From this time on Bishop Fenwick planned constantly for

diocese of Cincinnati, p. 40 ff. Cf. Kelly-Kirwin, Mt. St. Mary's of the West, Ch. I.

[23] O'Daniel, op. cit., pp. 251-253.

[24] O'Daniel, op. cit p. 257 ff. Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 346. Annales de l'Assoc. de la Prop. de la Foi, Vol. II, p. 92.

[25] Spalding, Life of Flaget, p. 224. From U. S. C. M., 1847.

[26] O'Daniel, op. cit., pp. 261-262.

[27] O'Daniel, op. cit., p. 296.

his Seminary. His letters to Europe and to his friends in this country are full of his hopes for the early realization of his plans. In a letter to the "Association for the Propagation of the Faith" early in 1829 he clearly showed that his institution was to be the combination Seminary-College. The plan was necessary because it would help to meet expenses.[28]

A few months later, on May 11, 1829, Bishop Fenwick opened his Seminary. "After chanting the 'Veni Creator' and offering the holy sacrifice, he read the regulations and made an earnest address to the seminarians. This new institution, dedicated to St. Francis, was placed under the care of Father S. H. Montgomery, and opened with ten pupils, four in theology and six in the preparatory class."[29] By December of 1829 there were fifteen students in the Seminary. The necessity for a new building was urgent; promise of help came from the newly-formed Leopoldine Society of Vienna, so the Bishop began the erection of a new home for the Seminary.[30]

On October 17, 1831, the Bishop opened, in connection with the Seminary of St. Francis Xavier, the new College, which he called the "Athenaeum". The Cathedral Seminary and College were closely joined on the same plot of ground. The buildings were at the time among the most beautiful in the city.[31]

Bishop Fenwick made heroic efforts to found and maintain a Seminary. He had some difficulty in finding priests to put in charge of the important work of training his students for the priesthood. In his great need of priests he accepted some whose influence in the Seminary was unfortunate, to say the least.[32] Bishop Fenwick died before he could get his Seminary on a sound working basis. Yet he had by great personal sacrifice given the diocese a Seminary which he left to the care of those who were to follow him.

[28] Annales de l'Assoc. de la Prop. de la Foi, Vol. IV, p. 502 ff. Cf O'Daniel, op. cit., pp. 353-354. Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 353.

[29] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 353.

[30] O'Daniel, op. cit., pp. 368-370.

[31] Lamott, op. cit., p. 62. Cf. Catholic Telegraph, October 29, 1831. Cf. O'Daniel, op. cit., pp. 392-394.

[32] Cath. Hist. Rev., Vol. V., pp. 241-242.

## CHAPTER VI.

### General Character of the Early Seminaries.

*Government.*

The government of the early American Seminaries was, in accordance with the mind of the Church, in the hands of the Bishops. On the latter rested the obligation of raising a clergy, and the establishment and direction of Seminaries were among their chief duties. We treat here, however, of the immediate government, the actual direction of the work of the Seminary.

In St. Mary's, Baltimore, the direction of the Seminary was in the hands of the Society of St. Sulpice. The Sulpicians were founded solely for the work of directing Seminaries. It is their one purpose, and in all their Seminaries the Ordinary of the Diocese is Superior of the house. Their work is for the Bishop and is done under his authority. The "petit séminaire" at Pigeon Hill was likewise in their care.

Mt. St. Mary's, from its foundation in 1809 to 1826, was a Sulpician charge. In 1826 the connection with St. Sulpice was broken and the Mountain was given over to a group of priests under Father John Dubois. These priests directed the Seminary by the authority of the Archbishop of Baltimore.[1]

New York's first Seminary, as we have seen, burned before it began its work. The intention of Bishop Dubois was to give its direction to two of his priests. It was to have the system of the "Mountain". Philadelphia's Seminary, founded by Bishop Kenrick, was under the Bishop's personal direction in his own house. The two early Seminaries of Boston were personally directed by Bishops Cheverus and Fenwick. The Seminary in Bardstown was directed by Father David, acting under the close supervision of Bishop Flaget. While not officially a Sulpician Seminary, its relations to the Bishop were much like those in the Seminaries of the Society of St. Sulpice.

In St. Louis the Vincentians had charge of the Seminary.

[1] Story of the Mountain, pp. 160-161.

This Congregation was founded by St. Vincent de Paul, and one of its great works has been the direction of Seminaries. Their relations to a Bishop in this work are much like those of the Sulpicians. The Bishop is the final authority in the Seminary, and their work is for him.

Bishop England, in Charleston, from 1822 to 1826 personally directed his own Seminary. In the latter year he turned its direction over to his diocesan priests. In Cincinnati the Seminary from its inception was in the care of priests appointed by the Bishop.

### *Types of Seminary.*

St. Mary's, Baltimore, from 1791 to 1799, was a "Grand Séminaire". It had no preparatory nor college students. In 1799 a mixed College was opened in connection with the Seminary, and this combination Seminary-College was kept until long after our period closes in 1833.[2] Pigeon Hill College was strictly a preparatory Seminary during its brief existence. Mt. St. Mary's was founded in 1809 as a preparatory Seminary; but before 1815 it had begun to admit students not preparing for the priesthood. In 1818 it had become a Seminary-College.

New York was intended to be the Seminary-College type. The Philadelphia Seminary was purely clerical, restricted to Philosophy and Theology. Bishop Cheverus' Seminary in Boston was a Domestic Seminary, in which he taught Philosophy and Theology. Bishop Fenwick of Boston taught only Philosophy and Theology in his Domestic Seminary; but the Seminary he was building in 1833 was to develop into the Seminary-College type. As early as 1827 he was applying this system by having his seminarians teach in the Cathedral school.

Bishop Flaget's Seminary at Bardstown from its founding in 1811 until about 1817 was a Tridentine clerical Seminary. When the older students were moved nearer the Cathedral a College was added to the Seminary. Bishop Flaget strove, however, to keep the old St. Thomas as a "petit séminaire".

[2] By mixed College we mean one in which both clerical and lay students are received without distinction.

The Vincentians in the diocese of St. Louis founded a Seminary in 1818; and in connection with it they had their own novitiate. As early as 1823 they admitted secular students and adopted the Seminary-College plan.[3] Bishop England, in Charleston, and Bishop Fenwick, Cincinnati, both had the Seminary-College combination.

*Number of Priests ordained.*

The "Memorial Volume of the Centenary of St. Mary's Seminary", Baltimore, contains a list of students of the Seminary who have been ordained priests. Up to the close of the year 1833 there were about seventy. Mt. St. Mary's, as far as we are able to determine, sent forth approximately sixty priests. The Seminary claimed about forty sons in the priesthood when Bishop Dubois left in 1826.[4] We cannot be certain that the above numbers are correct. Theological students taught in the Colleges of both institutions, and a certain amount of shifting was necessary because the Archbishop of Baltimore usually required the students of his diocese to take the last two years' Theology in St. Mary's Baltimore. Both institutions, however, claim some of these men as alumni, and with the resulting confusion and lack of clear records we are unable to give exact numbers.

The New York Seminary, just in process of erection, and the Philadelphia Seminary, in its first year, had, of course, no ordained priests to their credit in 1833.

Bishop Cheverus ordained five priests who had taken all or part of their Seminary work from him in his little Domestic Seminary.[5] Bishop Fenwick, continuing the work of his predecessor, raised four young men to the priesthood, who were trained in his own house.

In his "Catholicity in Kentucky" Webb gives a list of forty-seven of Father David's Seminarians who were raised to the priesthood.[6] It is really a list of those who were ordained up

[3] Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, 1903, p. 197. Cf. Cath. Almanac, 1833, p. 79.

[4] Story of the Mountain, Vol. II, p. 398.

[5] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 107 ff.

[6] Webb, op. cit., pp. 348-349.

to the time of Bishop David's retirement about 1830. Doctor Francis P. Kenrick directed the Seminary after 1821, but Bishop David assisted until probably early in the thirties. The list, however, includes some who made their theology in other Seminaries, so the number forty-seven is, perhaps, a little high.

The early years of the Seminary in St. Louis were also fruitful. Bishop Rosati, writing to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, June 7, 1827, said that in the first eight years of its existence, 1818 to 1826, the Seminary had sent forth twenty-five priests.[7] In the early thirties the Seminarians numbered thirty-five, and in 1831 the Bishop ordained several priests.[8] So the estimate of thirty priests from the Barrens before 1834 is perhaps too conservative.

In his report to Propaganda in 1833, Bishop England stated that his Seminary had already produced twenty priests.[9] Bishop Fenwick's Seminary in Cincinnati was in 1833 still in its infancy and had sent forth no priests.

### *Support of Seminaries.*

The story of the Seminaries of the United States is a story of constant struggle against poverty. Practically all the Seminaries up to 1833 were retarded in their development because of the lack of financial means. The people were poor and bigotry and intolerance in many States made difficult any advance in Catholic life. In places where support of projects advanced by a Bishop might be expected, lay trusteeism caused great delays in the progress of religion. The letters and records of our early Bishops are replete with statements showing their lack of means, amounting often to absolute poverty.

In the histories of the separate Seminaries we have made frequent reference to the "Society for the Propagation of the Faith" of Lyons, and occasional reference to the Leopoldine Society of Vienna. Without the material aid received from these two Societies many of our first Seminaries would never have been established. The Society for the Propagation of the

[7] Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, 1903, pp. 202-3.
[8] Shea, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 683.
[9] Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, 1897, pp. 322-23.

Faith was founded at Lyons in 1822 for the purpose of aiding the missions by prayer and alms-giving.[10] The Leopoldine Society was founded at Vienna in 1829 for the purpose of aiding the Catholic Missions in North America.[11]

St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, was established and maintained for several years by funds belonging to the Society of St. Sulpice. The tuition paid directly amounted to very little. When the College was established, about 1800, it helped to support the Seminary. About 1806 the State allowed a lottery for the College, which indirectly aided the Seminary because of the resulting growth of the College. After the War of 1812 St. Mary's faced financial ruin for several years.[12] The institution was saved from bankruptcy by the generosity of friends. We are unable to find that St. Mary's Seminary received aid from either of the two European Mission Societies up to 1833.

Mt. St. Mary's several times in its early years was in serious financial trouble. It was established chiefly by Sulpician funds and by aid which Father Dubois received from his relatives.[13] Through most of the years to 1818 it failed to be self-supporting and was kept open by funds from Baltimore Seminary. In 1818, when ruin faced both institutions, Baltimore withdrew its support. Aid was received by the "Mountain" from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith during its days of severest trials. Bruté, writing on December 22, 1828, explained that the Seminary was in real distress because it received nothing from the Government, nothing from the Diocese, and the tuition paid by the boys was spent for food and clothing.[14] When Bishop Dubois left the "Mountain" in 1826 it was still heavily in debt. In 1833 the debt was reduced by about four thousand dollars through the sale of lands belonging to the institution and by the practice of the strictest economy.[15]

[10] Hickey, "Society for the Propagation of the Faith", Ch. I-II. Freri, "Soc. for Prop. of Faith" in Cath. Encyc., Vol. XII, pp. 461-462.

[11] Rezek, "Leopoldine Society" in Cath. Encyc., Vol. XVI. (Index Vol. p. 52.)

[12] Herbermann, Sulpicians in the U. S., p. 19; p. 104; pp. 131-2.

[13] Story of the Mountain, Vol. I, p. 16.

[14] Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, Bruté, Dec. 22, 1828.

[15] Purcell to Whitfield, June 19, 1833. Balt. Cath. Arch. 23A-L5.

The building of the Seminary at Nyack, New York, was possible only through the funds received by Bishop Dubois from the Holy Father, from Propaganda and from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. On his journey through Europe in 1830 Bishop Dubois collected money in various places. In his own diocese he received but little because of the poverty of the people and the trustee troubles.[16]

The Philadelphia Seminary was in 1833 just beginning. It had, however, already received aid from the Leopoldine Society [17] and was in touch with the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.[18] Through the efforts of Bishop Kenrick and the work of the "Catholic Herald" of Philadelphia, the Seminary was placed before the people and their support was invited. In these early years the foundations were laid for the remarkable Seminary Collection which Philadelphia has today.

Bishop Cheverus in Boston took his students into his home and kept them without charge. He supported them on the little he received in the way of salary or offerings of the people. Bishop Fenwick did the same until he received from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith sufficient funds to erect his Seminary building.[19]

St. Thomas' Seminary in Kentucky, in its early years, suffered extreme poverty. Bishop Flaget went to his diocese on money given him by his friends and his poverty was lessened but little for several years. The Seminary, however, was almost self-supporting as long as it remained on the Howard farm outside Bardstown. The students labored several hours each day "in garden, fields and forest", and by their work the Seminary was able to live.[20] The tuition received was little; in 1817 out of fifteen seminarians only two were able to pay fifty dollars annually.[21] Not long after the Society for the Propagation of the Faith was formed, Bishop Flaget began

[16] Scanlan, St. Joseph's Dunwoodie, pp. 10-11.

[17] Pastoral of Bishop Kenrick, Jan. 29, 1834.

[18] Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, Kenrick, Aug. 27, 1832.

[19] Supra, C. IV, Boston.

[20] Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, Vol. I. p. 40. Spalding, Life of Flaget, p. 103.

[21] Howlett, St. Thomas Seminary, p. 43.

to receive aid from it. With these funds and the assistance received from the College in union with the Seminary he was able to maintain his ecclesiastical students.

In Charleston, Bishop England received some funds for his Seminary from the College he maintained in connection with it. He also received valuable aid from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. In 1829 he made an appeal to the Society and the response he received almost entirely relieved the debt on his Seminary.[22] Bishop England received aid also from the Leopoldine Society; from Rome and from Ireland.[23] He organized the system of Diocesan Conventions from which, with the cooperation of the laity, he hoped to raise funds for diocesan purposes. In the early years the returns from this were small.[24]

Cincinnati, when Bishop Fenwick arrived, was poor. The Bishop had no money with which to work, and in 1823 he went to Europe to seek help. From the Holy Father and from Propaganda he received aid in Rome. In many cities of Italy and France he was generously received. The Society for the Propagation of the Faith gave him funds. With these he established a Seminary.[25] Later, aid came from the Leopoldine Society and the Seminary moved into a new building.[26]

The actual amount put into Seminary work from the money sent by the two Mission Societies of Europe cannot be determined. The money was sent for general mission work, and we do not know what proportions went into churches, schools, colleges, or seminaries. It is clear from the letters of the Bishops who were befriended by these Societies that without aid many of these Seminaries could not have been established and maintained.

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[22] Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records, 1897, pp. 322-323; contains "Report to Propaganda" for 1833. Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, Vol. IV, pp. 299-300.

[23] Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, Aug. 20, 1841.

[24] Messmer, Works of England, Vol. VII, pp. 105 ff.

[25] Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, Vol. II, p. 92. O'Daniel, Life of Bishop Fenwick, pp. 257 ff.

[26] O'Daniel, op. cit., pp. 368-370.

## CHAPTER VII.

### The Movement for a Central Seminary.

The First Provincial Council of Baltimore met in October, 1829. There were present the Archbishop of Baltimore, James Whitfield, and Bishops Flaget, of Bardstown, England, of Charleston, Edward Fenwick, of Cincinnati, Rosati, of St. Louis, and Benedict Fenwick, of Boston. The Very Reverend William Matthews, Administrator of Philadelphia, represented that See.[1]

One of the subjects which came before the Council for discussion was the establishment of a Central Seminary. Several of the dioceses had Seminaries, but the majority of these were handicapped by lack of professors and money. Most of them were using the combination Seminary-College, in which the students for the priesthood taught classes in the College. The funds from the College were used to support the Seminary. Few of the Bishops would support this as the ideal Seminary; it was not Tridentine and not in accordance with the mind of the Church. The ecclesiastical students were unable to give their whole time to the normal work of the Seminary, and it was felt that in a fully organized central Seminary some of the students from each diocese might be given better opportunities to develop.

The discussion naturally centered around St. Mary's, Baltimore, as the possible Central Seminary.[2] Baltimore was the Metropolitan city and St. Mary's was the oldest Seminary in the United States. Archbishop Whitfield was strongly in favor of the project, and so, too, were the Sulpicians. The Archbishop made it clear, however, that neither he nor the Sulpicians had suggested the plan. The Bishop of Boston acknowl-

[1] Concilia Provincialia, Baltimori habita ab anno 1829, usque ad annum 1840. pp. 29-30.

[2] The statements given in regard to this project are taken from Concilia Provincialia, ut supra; from Bruté's letter in "Story of the Mountain", pp. 220-22; and from Carrière's Record of the Visitation of 1829, passim.

edged responsibility for it, and, at first, was one of its strongest advocates. On October 8, at the fifth public session, the Theologians to the Council were asked to express their views concerning the establishment of a Central Seminary.[3] The question was discussed in two closed sessions. St. Mary's was favored, also, because Archbishop Maréchal had obtained for it from Rome the power to confer degrees in Sacred Science.[4]

On October 9, 1829, Archbishop Whitfield and the Bishops directed Doctor Damphoux, the Secretary of the Council, to address a letter to Father Joseph Carrière, Official Visitor of the Sulpicians, inquiring for the lowest rates at which St. Mary's Seminary would receive, maintain and clothe ecclesiastical students sent to Baltimore by the hierarchy of the country.[5] Bishop Flaget was opposed to the plan of a Central Seminary. For the amount it would take to send a single student to Baltimore and maintain him there he could educate four or five in Kentucky. He was ready, however, to send some of his best students to take degrees in Theology. The Bishop of St. Louis, having a Seminary of his own and being at a great distance, would not be able to send students to Baltimore. Bishop England, at first in favor of the project, withdrew his support. The Sulpicians felt that the plan might be for the good of the Church in the United States and that they should strive to meet the wishes of the Bishops, who were held back chiefly from lack of means. At first they decided to charge $140.00 a year, including everything except clothes. Clothes were to be bought at the expense of the Bishops. Later they reconsidered and decided to ask only $130.00. This rate was to be only for the benefit of the Bishops, and not for students able to pay for themselves. The low rate was made at a real sacrifice on the part of the Seminary. The answer to the Council was written by Father Carrière on October 12.[6]

The Council did nothing definite toward the adoption of the plan, and matters remained as they were before the Council

[3] Conc. Prov. Balt., p. 39.
[4] Herbermann, Sulpicians in U. S., p. 186.
[5] Carrière, Record of Visitation, 1829.
[6] Carrière, Record of Visitation, 1829.

met.[7] The Archbishop of Baltimore was deeply interested and continued to discuss the problem with Father Carrière. The Archbishop suggested that application be made to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith for special funds to train clerics in the Seminary of Baltimore. This would draw students and render the Bishops favorable to the project. For his part, the Archbishop was willing to make efforts to get more priests for his parochial work, so that the priests of the Seminary might be entirely free to devote themselves to their special duties in the Seminary.

The plan, however, was not adopted by the Council, and the reason was chiefly financial. A whole system of education was involved; the Seminary was only part of each Bishop's problem. Local Colleges were needed and Seminarians were needed to teach in these. There were few wealthy Catholics and Bishops could not pay for Seminarians in distant Seminaries. The money was needed in the dioceses. Poverty forced the small domestic Seminary on the early Bishops, and poverty forced also the Seminary-College. Lack of means prevented the establishment of a Central Seminary.

The question came up again in the Second Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1833. This time Bishop England was the strongest advocate of the plan. He did not believe in suppression of the Diocesan Seminary; it was necessary to meet local needs, but a Central Seminary could do much to unite and strengthen the Church and raise the standard of clerical education.[8] Bishop England, on his way back from Rome, had seen some of the Bishops of Ireland and had discussed with them a plan for securing priests from Ireland for the United States. He hoped that some Seminary in Ireland would become a Central Seminary for the dioceses of America.

The Bishops felt much as they did in 1829. The project was good, but one of the chief difficulties was the lack of financial means. The Bishops thought also that an official connection with a foreign Seminary might delay the growth of native vocations. Even the French Bishops insisted on the need of a

[7] "Story of the Mountain" pp. 221-222.

[8] Messmer, Works of Bishop England, Vol. VII, pp. 157-159.

native clergy, and they thought that all efforts should be made to develop it. It was felt, too, that naturally the best students would be kept at home by the Irish Bishops and few first-rate students would come to America. The Council did not establish a Central Seminary; and, on the contrary, it urged the Bishops to erect Diocesan Seminaries such as the Council of Trent had prescribed.[9] Diocesan Seminaries received new life from the Council and the plan for a Central Seminary was dropped.

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[9] Concilia Prov. Balto., p. 100.

## CONCLUSION.

As we review the history of the individual Seminaries in the period that we have covered we are forced to note points of striking similarity in the establishment and rise of practically all of them. Each Bishop, following the example set by Bishop Carroll, planned and prayed for a Seminary in which he might train priests for work in his diocese. Many of the Bishops, starting Seminaries in or near the Episcopal residence, taught and directed their young Levites almost unaided. Practically all found its necessary, sooner or later, to open a College in connection with the Seminary. Poverty made it impossible to maintain a Seminary alone. The Seminarians taught in the College and revenue from the College maintained the Seminary. Poverty kept the early Seminaries small and diocesan; and it prevented the development of central Seminaries. Most of our Seminaries owed their establishment or maintenance, some owed both, to the assistance received from European charity.

From these institutions there came forth men of apostolic zeal to carry on the work of the Bishops and priests whose courage and faith in the face of poverty and destitution made possible the founding of our Seminaries.

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## VITA.

Lloyd Paul McDonald was born at Seward, Illinois, May 17, 1896. He received his elementary education in the Seward Public School. Two years of his secondary training were received in Seward Public High School and two in St. Joseph's Academy, Dubuque, Iowa. In September, 1913, he entered St. Joseph's College (now Columbia College), and in 1917 he was graduated with the degree of A. B. His theological course was made at St. Mary's, Baltimore, 1917-1918, and the Sulpician Seminary, Washington, 1918-1921. At the completion of his course he received the degree of S. T. B. On May 21, 1921, he was ordained to the priesthood in Rockford, Illinois, by the Rt. Rev. Peter J. Muldoon, D. D. He entered the novitiate of the Sulpicians at Catonsville, Maryland, in September, 1921, and was received into the Society the following June. For the two years following the completion of his novitiate he was an instructor at St. Charles' College, Catonsville. In September, 1924, he entered the School of Philosophy of the Catholic University and followed courses in Education under the Very Rev. Dr. Patrick J. McCormick; in Sociology under the Rev. Dr. William J. Kerby; in English under Doctor P. J. Lennox and Mr. Arthur Deering.

To all his professors he expresses his sincere gratitude and appreciation.

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